Collaborative Archiving of Music and Dance: Framework for a More-inclusive Postcolonial Archive among Contemporary Bagisu, Uganda

by

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Declaration

By submitting this dissertation, I declare that I understand what constitutes plagiarism, that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

July, 2016

Dedication

To my beloved daughter, Hope Mayobo, for being an inspiration to me

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Accomplishing this work was possible because of the effort of many people. Although it is difficult to mention all their names here, I feel immensely indebted to whoever supported me. However, I would like to mention some individuals, groups and organisations for their contribution towards the successful completion of this dissertation.

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Abstract

In this study, I examine the approaches the Bagisu people of eastern Uganda have used to archive their music and dance. This study was conducted against the backdrop that despite the proliferation of substantial work on reconceptualising the archive and archiving, there are inadequate studies on the approaches indigenous communities use to archive their music and dance, and how such approaches have been influenced by socio-cultural, religious, economic and technological conditions. The study is also informed by the inadequate scholarly work on how stakeholders involved in archiving music and dance can collaborate to sustainably archive these cultural materials at community levels.

Through an ethnographic approach, I collected data in rural villages of Bududa District and the urban centre of Mbale Town as case studies to investigate how musicians, dancers, community members, cultural leaders, fieldworkers, music collectors, archivists among other stakeholders, participate in archiving music and dance among the Bagisu. I use an ethnomusicological approach to engage with concepts like archive, archiving, decolonisation of the archive, sustainability of an archival practice, power, hybridity and authenticity to investigate the nature of the archive contemporary Bagisu can adopt to preserve music and dance. By discussing the roles several stakeholders can perform under what I have regarded as a 'more-inclusive postcolonial' archive, I illuminate how the Bagisu can collaborate with other stakeholders to sustainably archive music and dance in this community.

As this study demonstrates, two broad approaches to archiving music and dance among the Bagisu stand out, namely: 1) indigenous and 2) colonial archival practices. I have used the notion of 'colonial' approaches to archiving to refer to a form of preservation of music and dance based on practices established by the colonial administration. Conversely, the use of 'indigenous' archival practices refers to approaches developed by the Bagisu to safeguard their music and dance. This study has established that although these approaches have a number of advantages, they are also 'inward-looking' or 'closed-ended', a condition which makes them unsuitable for twenty-first century archiving. As such, I have proposed a framework for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive to act as a platform where several stakeholders can interact and establish archives that serve the needs of both present and future users of the archive. Considering the changing socio-cultural, religious, economic and technological conditions in Uganda, I argue that the establishment of a more-inclusive

postcolonial archive opens up possibilities for defining appropriate archival practices of the twenty-first century.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie ondersoek die benaderings wat die Bagisu van Oos-Uganda gebruik om musiek en dans te bewaar. Die studie is gedoen teen die agtergrond dat alhoewel heelwat werk die praktyk van bewaring herbesin, te min studies handel oor die verskillende benaderings wat plaaslike gemeenskappe gebruik om hulle musiek en dans te bewaar en oor hoe sulke benaderings deur sosio-kulturele, godsdienstige, ekonomiese en tegnologiese toestande beïnvloed word. Min akademiese studies is gedoen oor hoe diegene wat betrokke is by die verskillende bewaringspraktyke kan saamwerk om die verskillende bewaringspraktyke in ’n gemeenskap volhoudbaar te maak.

Aan die hand van ‘n etnografiese benadering is data versamel in landelike dorpies in die Bududa Distrik en in die stedelike gebied van Mbale, wat gedien het as gevallestudies om vas te stel hoe musikante, dansers, lede van die gemeenskap, kulturele leiers, veldwerkers, musiekversamelaars en musiekbewaarders betrek word in bewaring van die musiek en dans van die Bagisu. Ek gebruik die etnomusikologiese benadering tot konsepte soos mag, bewaring, argiewe, die dekolonisasie van die argief, die volhoubaarheid van argiefpraktyk, mag, hibriditeit, en die outentiteit van kulturele elemente, om te besin oor die aard van die argiewe wat die Bagisu kan aanpas om musiek en dans in die eietyd te bewaar. Deur die bespreking van die vele rolle wat diegene wat betrokke is kan aanneem in wat ek ‘n ‘meer-inklusiewe postkoloniale’ argief noem, wys ek hoe lede van hierdie gemeenskap saam kan werk met ander mense om kwessies aan te spreek soos die aard van die musiek en dans wat versamel word, hoe gebruikers toegang kry tot- en hulle verbruik van sulke items en die versagting van kopiereg en etiese kwessies.

Daar is tydens die studie vasgestel dat daar twee breë benaderings tot die bewaring van die musiek en dans van die Bagisu is, naamlik 1) die inheemse- en 2) die koloniale argiefpraktyke. Ek verwys na die koloniale benaderings as die vorm van bewaring van musiek en dans gebaseer op praktyke wat deur die koloniale administrasie gevestig is. Die inheemse praktyke behels die benaderings wat deur die Bagisu self ontwikkel is om musiek en dans te bewaar. Daar is bevind dat ten spyte van die voordele van hierdie benaderings, hulle almal “inwaartsgekeer” of “geslote” is. Hierdie benaderings is daarom nie geskik vir die een-en-twintigste eeu nie. Ek stel dus ‘n raamwerk voor vir ‘n meer inklusiewe postkoloniale argief om te dien as ‘n platform waar verskeie belanghebbendes kan saamwerk om argiewe te skep wat die behoeftes van huidige en toekomstige gebruikers kan dien.

In die oorweging van die veranderende sosio-kulturele, godsdienstige, ekonomiese en tegnologiese toestande in Uganda, argumenteer ek dat die skep van ‘n meer inklusiewe postkoloniale argief die moontlikhede oopmaak vir die definieer van geskikte argiefpraktyke vir die een-en-twintigste eeu.

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Abbreviations Frequently Used in the Dissertation

AFAMILA	Archiving Filipino Music in Los Angeles
BCG	Bumutoto Cultural Grounds
BDLG	Bududa District Local Government
BLSA	British Library Sound Archives
CBR	Centre for Basic Research
CS	Cultural Sites
DCDO	District Community Development Officer
DM	*Dini ya Musambwa*
GoU	Government of Uganda
FGDs	Focussed Group Discussions
HOA	Heartbeat of Africa
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
IM	*Inzu ye Masaba*
KRC	Kiryandongo Refugee Camp
MAKWAA	Makerere University Klaus Wachsmann Audiovisual Archive (at the time of its inception in 2009, MAKWAA was known as MAKWMA, the latter denoting Makerere University Klaus Wachsmann Music Archive)
MDD	Music Dance and Drama
MK	Music Kiosks
NCS	Namasho Cultural Site
NWG	Namasho Women Group

NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PAF	Performing Arts and Film
PC	Pentecostal Churches
PM	Pentecostal Movement
TCH	Tangible Cultural Heritage
UBC	Uganda Broadcasting Corporation
UNCP	Uganda National Culture Policy
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

This study examines the approaches to archiving music and dance that the Bagisu[1] of eastern Uganda have used through history. It investigates how the Bagisu conceptualise the archive, the archivist and archiving, and identifies the principal stakeholders involved in archiving music and dance in this community. The study was carried out in rural villages of Bududa District and urban trading centres in Mbale Town. Specifically, I examine the interplay between indigenous and colonial archival practices for music and dance with an ultimate goal of providing a framework for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive, an archival practice that can be adopted to sustainably preserve music and dance among the Bagisu. In this study, I regard a more-inclusive postcolonial archive as a site where musicians, dancers, community members, cultural leaders, fieldworkers, music collectors, archivists and other stakeholders interact with a view to address questions surrounding the nature of materials to be collected for archives. This kind of archive also addresses the issue of how end-users can access and make use of these materials as well as mitigate copyright and ethical issues that inform twenty-first century archives.

What motivated me to undertake this study was the need to propose a sustainable approach to archiving music and dance among the Bagisu. When I began my career as a music scholar at Makerere University in 2002, I did not envisage developing a keen interest

[1] The Bagisu (singular Mugisu) are people of the Bantu family found in eastern Uganda. They are sometimes known as Bamasaaba, a term used to denote "children of Masaba". According to mythical narratives used to discuss the origin of the Bagisu, Masaaba was the first Mugisu to be circumcised. In fact, the history of *imbalu* circumcision rituals that this community performs as a way of initiating adolescent boys into manhood is linked to Masaba. The name Bagisu was given to these people during the late nineteenth century by Semei Kakungulu, the colonial agent working in eastern Uganda (for details on the change of name from Bamasaaba to Bagisu, see Khamalwa (2004:21). *Lugisu* is the language of the Bagisu (although some people use the word *Lumasaaba* interchangeably with *Lugisu*). *Gisu* (*Gishu*) is used by scholars like Turner (1969); La Fontaine (1981) and Heald (1982; 1999) to denote something that belongs to the Bagisu. Sometimes, the term Kigisu is used in the place of *Gisu* (*Gishu*). Bugisu refers to the area where the Bagisu live. In this dissertation, I use the terms Bagisu, Bugisu and Kigisu to refer to the Bagisu people, the area where they live and things that belong to them respectively. For further discussions about the Bagisu and their cultural practices, see Turner (1969; 1973); La Fontaine (1981); Heald (1982; 1999); Khamalwa (2004; 2012) (see also more discussions on *imbalu* circumcision rituals in Chapters Four and Five).

in archiving.[2] Considering that I had participated in training and adjudicating choirs prior to joining Makerere University, my ambition was to gain more insights in western and African music theory and later impart this knowledge into students in high schools, colleges and universities. I also wanted to acquire practical skills especially in the performance of traditional music and dance and later establish a cultural troupe or join some of the existing troupes, perform with them and earn a living. I got interested in the area of archiving music and dance during graduate training and especially during my internship with MAKWAA. While pursuing the M.A. (Music) Degree, one of the courses was 'Music Collections, Recording and archiving', which had both theoretical and practical training. This training, coupled with the activities I engaged in as an intern music archivist at MAKWAA, exposed me to pertinent issues, not only related to archiving music and dance, but also the preservation of cultural artefacts as a whole. Besides the understanding that archiving is a form of record-keeping, it was revealed to me that there is need to establish archives that resonate with the needs of communities where material is collected. This view was explicitly articulated during a lecture we had at the Uganda Museum in 2009, during which Rose Mwanja,[3] recounted a story of how some Ugandans shunned the museum in 1908 because it housed items which they associated with sinister forces.[4]

As Vowles (1981:1) has also noted, by setting up a national museum in 1908, the British colonialists were enthusiastic to 'assist' different communities in Uganda preserve their cultural objects. However, when some Ugandans learnt that the government was spearheading the collection and preservation of 'witchcraft' materials, they refused to visit this new 'conservation centre'.[5] Several indigenous Ugandans regarded the museum at that time as a 'live' centre for witchcraft, a place created by foreigners to destroy Ugandans

[2] The undergraduate training in music that I had at Makerere University did not offer music archiving.

[3] At that time, Mwanja was a Commissioner for Antiquities in the Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities.

[4] Indeed, at that time, it was politically correct to be a Christian and as I will point out later in this dissertation, any association with traditional ways of life was considered unchristian. Mainstream religious denominations – the Roman Catholic Church, Anglican Church and Moslems – used to excommunicate members who would go against their teachings including those who participated in the so-called primitive traditional performances.

[5] In this dissertation, I use the notion of 'conservation centres' in reference to a combination of institutions charged with the task of collecting, documenting, preserving and managing cultural objects on behalf of the public. Such institutions include museums, archival institutions and libraries. My use of the concept of conservation centres is similar to Featherstone's (2000:168) use of the notion of "memory institutions" to describe facilities where cultural materials of a particular community can be preserved. To Featherstone, such institutions include museums, archival centres and libraries. In this digital age, some scholars have also referred to cyberspace and YouTube as memory institutions (see for example, Pietrobruno (2009:229; 2013).

through the magical powers 'kept' there.[6] The story about the items housed in the Uganda Museum at the time of its establishment shocked me because as an upcoming music scholar engaging with a new area of archiving, I had not reflected on the need to explore what the notion of an archive means to communities where materials are collected and how communities understand, value and archive cultural material in their midst. I did not even think that community members can play a crucial role in defining the notion of the archive and items under its custody.[7] On further reflections, the following questions came to my mind: 1) What do the Bagisu conceive an archive to be? 2) How do they archive their musics and dances in the different contexts they live? 3) What could be the best approach to archiving music and dance of the Bagisu in this twenty-first century?

The processes of archiving involve collecting, documenting, arranging records and providing access to the collections, as mostly done in formal archival institutions. Through history, by performing several rituals, preserving particular places, items and individuals, the Bagisu informally engage in processes of archiving. However, when the British colonised Uganda towards the end of the nineteenth century, they introduced foreign ways of preserving material culture of Uganda.[8] Although the decision to conduct this study was also influenced by limited scholarly work in the context of Uganda,[9] the activities I engaged in as I worked with MAKWAA exposed me to interesting issues regarding archiving. Through collecting, documenting and repatriating music and dance of the Bagisu, I interacted with different stakeholders who play a significant role in the process of archiving this community's music and dance. From ritual elders, community leaders and educators to musicians and dancers, people shared information about the nature of songs and dances they

[6] This attitude still exists, even after more than 100 years later, especially considering that many Ugandans ascribe to western ways of life including education and religion. As such, they consider some of the items housed in the Uganda Museum as sacred or endowed with powers used in traditional religious 'cults'. While some Ugandans would be eager to visit the museum to see articles like drums, royal regalia, architectural designs from a number of Ugandan ethnic groups, farm implements and the body remains of numerous animal and bird species (see also, Nyiracyiza, 2009), others still hold the view that these things are sinister and can make them sick.

[7] In fact, during the time I did my M.A., MAKWAA had just been set up. The setting up of this archive, mission and vision it set out to achieve made me to reflect on the relationship between materials brought to the archive and the people from whom they are collected.

[8] Due to colonial prejudices about African forms of life, most Africans embraced western ways of life thereby abandoning their 'own' practices.

[9] By the time I pursued my M.A. Degree, scholarly work on archiving music and dance in Uganda included Isabirye's (2004) article, which focused on archiving popular music in Uganda. There was also an article by Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2006) whose focus is the challenges of archiving Ugandan popular music. Other scholarly articles were published later and these included works by Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012) as well as Kahunde (2012) whose discussions were on repatriation of musical materials from archives back into communities where they were collected.

value in their communities. Moreover, by attending ritual performances and interacting with local musicians, I got interested in how communities ensure that the musics and dances they create are safeguarded for future generations. When I got the opportunity to pursue doctoral studies, I saw the need to continue my interaction with the Bagisu – particularly those living in Bududa District and Mbale Town. My aim was to rethink the archive on a higher level and understand the fundamental issues related to archiving music and dance among the Bagisu and how the different stakeholders can work together to address these issues.

1.2 Problem Statement and Focus

Since mid-1980s, scholars engaged in archiving music and dance have argued for rethinking the archive, not only to match with theoretical shifts in disciplines that draw on archival material, but also to resonate with practical issues related with archiving.[10] As a result, substantial scholarly work in relation to how the archive should be reconceptualised and approaches on improving or dismantling colonial archival practices has proliferated (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2015; Muller, 2002; Taylor, 2003; Kurin, 2004[11]; Lobley, 2010; 2012; 2015; Sanga, 2014; Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub, 2012; Kahunde, 2012).

Despite these debates, there is inadequate scholarly work on the various approaches that communities adopt to archive music and dance and how these practices are influenced by the contexts of their lives. Moreover, conducting studies to establish such practices may become a springboard for examining the ways different stakeholders can collaborate to address fundamental issues surrounding archiving material during the twenty-first century. Based on this situation, I saw the need to conduct a study among the Bagisu of eastern Uganda to explore their practices of archiving music and dance in the different settings they live and provide a framework for establishing what I have called a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for sustainable archiving of music and dance in this community.

[10] Seeger (1986) is among the scholars who pioneered studies in the area of archiving music and dance.

[11] Kurin (2004:73) has noted that investigations into new ways of preserving intangible cultural heritage including music and dance should also be informed by the need to establish "best practices" to safeguard these materials. See also Keitumetse (2006) in her article on practical implications of the 2003 UNESCO Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Main Objective

To examine the approaches for archiving music and dance and provide a framework for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for sustainable preservation of these materials among the Bagisu of the twenty-first century

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. To investigate the nature of music and dance among the Bagisu and how these materials have been archived since pre-colonial times
2. To explore how the Bagisu in Bududa District conceptualise the archive and the approaches they adopt to archive music and dance in their community
3. To explore how the Bagisu in Mbale Town conceptualise the archive and the approaches they adopt to archive music and dance in their community
4. To provide a framework for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for sustainable preservation of music and dance among the Bagisu during the twenty-first century

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 Main Research Question

What have historically been the approaches to archiving music and dance and what are the best possible approaches for archiving these artistic materials in a globalised and technologically defined Bagisu community of the twenty-first century?

1.4.2 Specific Research Questions

1. What is the nature of music and dance among the Bagisu and how have they archived these materials since pre-colonial times?
2. How do the Bagisu in rural areas of Bududa District conceptualise the archive and which approaches do they use to archive music and dance in their community?
3. How do the Bagisu in the urban centres of Mbale Town conceptualise the archive

and what approaches do they use to archive music and dance in their community?

4. What could be the framework for establishing a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for sustainable preservation of music and dance among the Bagisu of the twenty-first century?

1.5 Contributions of the Study

Undertaking a study of this nature was motivated by the need to contribute knowledge to ethnomusicology and other social science disciplines including anthropology, sociology, political science, archival science, literary studies and library science. Being an investigation into indigenous and colonial archival practices for music and dance, this study will contribute to debates on concepts like archive, archiving and archivist, contemporary archiving, informal archiving, formal archiving, living archives, sustainable archiving, community engagement and commodification of the archive. Moreover, as a ground-breaking work which also engages with the idea of indigenous archival practices for music and dance, it is hoped that this study will become a springboard for institution-based archives like MAKWAA to examine ways of harnessing different archival practices into models that resonate with the challenges of the twenty-first century.

Furthermore, although I have not deposited material gathered through this research with MAKWAA or any other archive yet, it is my intention to liaise with the management of MAKWAA to establish ways of depositing these items there. Once deposited there, these items will not only boast the collections of this archive, but also guarantee the availability of such items to the Bagisu in future. Such materials will continue to represent the cultural identity of the Bagisu people.

In addition, it is my hope that this study can be beneficial to international organisations like UNESCO. In its effort to gazette cultural heritage sites around the world, UNESCO may acquire insights from this dissertation to understand how it can partner with the Government of Uganda (GoU) and the Bagisu to preserve the Cultural Sites (CSs) explored in this study. What I have referred to as CSs in this dissertation are places set aside by the Bagisu for the performance of such community events including circumcision rituals.

Most of these places were culturally consecrated and are linked to supernatural power.[12] To this end, UNESCO and other stakeholders can use this research to understand why the Bagisu in Bududa District value these places to find ways of working with community members in preserving them. In the section that follows, I review the literature related to this study.

1.6 Review of Related Literature

1.6.1 Introduction

As a means of understanding how my study contributes to knowledge in archiving music and dance, this section is a presentation of an overview of the state of research on archiving music and dance. I review scholarly works on archiving outside of Africa, and then within the African continent before narrowing down to East Africa and finally to Uganda. I illuminate the content, contexts and trends of scholarship in archiving besides providing a glimpse on the methodological approaches used in studying archiving music and dance. This review is not only intended to inform the current study by providing examples and content from elsewhere, but also enables the researcher to avoid duplication of other scholars' works by focusing on the gaps.

This section is divided into four subsections. The first subsection is a review of literature on archiving music and dance, drawing on examples from countries outside of Africa[13] and continental Africa. In the second subsection, I review literature on archiving music and dance in Uganda. The review of archiving music and dance in Uganda brings to the fore trends in scholarship on archiving music and dance in Uganda thus enabling the researcher identify the place this study occupies along this trajectory. The third subsection presents literature related to indigenous archival practices. By reviewing scholarly work on this area, I explore how context informs the adoption of specific archival practices. The last subsection discusses the centrality of making partnerships between different stakeholders involved in preservation of cultural objects of a particular community. In addition to what

[12] Mbiti (1975:144) points out that despite some of these sites being created out of the consensus of community members, many of them are linked to supernatural forces. Namasho cultural site, which is discussed under subsection 4.4.2.2, falls under the latter category.

[13] In this study, the notion of western countries refers to Europe, North America and Australia though one can also include countries from South America (especially Brazil) and Asia (mainly China).

Fargion & Landau (2012:125) regard as "cultural heritage communities",[14] there are also archivists, fieldworkers, cultural policy makers and development partners. The aim of this subsection is to demonstrate why and how creation of partnerships fosters sharing of ideas on the establishment of an archival practice that takes into account the needs of different people.

1.6.2 Studying Music and Sound Archiving

Archiving music and dance is part of an epoch that saw the inception of the discipline of ethnomusicology. As such, scholarly work in this area started gaining momentum during the last-half of the nineteenth century, the period that also saw ethnomusicology develop into a fully-fledged science. One major theme that scholars have investigated in this area relates to the role the practice of archiving music and other performative traditions has played towards the development of ethnomusicology as a field of study (Kunst, 1959:12; Seeger, 1986:261; Shelemay, 1991:277; 1997; Fargion, 2004:447; 2009; 2012; Fargion & Landau, 2012:128). Discussing this theme, the above scholars show how the discovery of recording gadgets like phonographs and gramophones facilitated the making of recordings of live performances for further analysis after fieldwork thus turning the study of "traditional" music into a "serious enterprise" (Fargion, 2009:75).[15] More specifically, scholars like Seeger (1986) demonstrate how what Okpewho (1992:6) calls "scholar-administrators", explorers and missionaries collected musical materials, took them back to their countries and how these items were later analysed with the aim of comparing the musical cultures around the world. Such comparisons formed the basis of comparative musicology, a discipline which later metamorphosed into ethnomusicology.

Although scholars including Piertrubruno (2009:229; 2013) underscore the central role technology continues to play in music archiving, there still remains a huge scholarly gap on how local communities deal with music, dance and other audio-visual materials using their 'own technologies'.[16] In other words, what do they adopt to safeguard cultural objects

[14] According Fargion & Landau, cultural heritage communities include musicians, ritual executors, community members and their leaders as well as custodians of various rituals.

[15] Even during the twenty-first century, technology continues to have a profound impact on the study of ethnomusicology. Piertrubruno (2009:229), in her viewpoints on YouTube as a site for archiving musical materials, for example, demonstrates how technology has fostered the transfer of musical materials from one place to another (see also Holton, 2000:142-143). I will discuss the implications of technology on archiving music and dance in Chapter Six.

[16] By using words like 'own technologies', I refer to approaches people from a specific community adopt to safeguard their music and dance. As I will discuss later, these practices are informed by the contexts in which people live.

including music and dance to ensure that they can be accessed and used by other people in future? In their own contexts, communities have initiated ways through which they archive music and dance. If we recognise this situation, we cannot under look Kurin's (2004) views on the need to conduct studies aimed at establishing how different societies safeguard their intangible cultural heritage. Kurin (2004:73) points to a "real lack of study and assessment of best practices" on the local means of ensuring the survival of oral heritage, including music and dance, in different communities. He shows how establishing best practices can lead to an understanding of how communities deal with items like music and dance amidst a 'host' of global challenges, one of which is addressed in this study.

Nineteenth century archives were used as places where material of no immediate value could be housed (Muller, 2002:409; Seeger & Chaudhuri, 2004:2; Fargion, 2012:54). As also discussed in relation to the intertwining nature of sound archiving and the emergence of the discipline of ethnomusicology, music archives came up as a result of travellers, colonial government agents, missionaries and scholars recording the music and dance materials of communities in which they worked and later depositing such items in archival institutions back home. However, access to such musics and dances was restricted; permission had to be sought from the archiving institutions, which was not always a given. Further, examining ways through which such a colonial archive can be changed to match the changing times has been a major theme of discussion in ethnomusicology since mid-1980s. Among the pioneer scholarly discussions on reconceptualising the archive is Seeger's work of 1986. In this work, Seeger (1986:261) demonstrates why and how contemporary music archives should reposition themselves in ways that are compatible with both the theoretical shifts in disciplines like ethnomusicology and the day-to-day needs of society. He particularly stresses that reconceptualising the archive needs to be in line with the way people think about the conceived and actual roles of the archivist, the nature of material to be collected for archiving and how such items should be documented. Supplementing on Seeger's works is Evans (2007:387) who implores archivists to "shift the way they think about their roles" including devising "alternative means and methods" of managing material.[17] All these efforts participate in changing the face of the contemporary archive.

Similarly, recent studies have pointed to new archival approaches. Among the areas of scholarly emphasis include repatriation of material to source communities (Lancefield, 1998;

[17] See also scholars including Hinding (1993) and Swain (2003) who discuss the same idea.

Lobley, 2010; 2012; Thram & Carvey, 2011). As Lobley (2010) has noted in relation to his research on Xhosa recordings housed by ILAM, repatriation, which is the return of cultural products to people who create them through formats that these people can easily access and use such material, fosters an understanding of how communities think about their music in contemporary times. Besides enhancing such understanding, repatriating archival material leads to collection of new items which do not only enrich the archive's items, but also fosters re-interpretation of old materials. Although studies on reconceptualising the archive and ways of doing archiving have proliferated, there is hardly any scientific study on how music archives can be changed through integrating indigenous and colonial archival practices. As this study demonstrates, communities use various approaches to archive music and dance, approaches that are informed by the context people are found. By establishing what the archive and archiving mean to the Bagisu in Bududa District and Mbale Town, this study illuminates the nature of archival practices among contemporary Bagisu. Besides, what I have proposed as a more-inclusive postcolonial archive is a framework that highlights how different stakeholders can interact with the aim of safeguarding music and dance during this twenty-first century. The changing socio-economic, religious and technological context demands that archivists, communities and their leaders, among other stakeholders, should take on new roles thus answering the call by scholars including Seeger (1986) on how such people should reposition themselves in consonance with the changing nature of the archive and community needs as pointed out in his work on reconceptualising the archive.

The other theme that incessantly comes up in studies on archiving music and dance is ownership, or what Seeger (1986:265) calls the "proprietorship of collections." Under this topic, scholarly works deal with the question of who possesses the right to 'true' ownership of material taken to archives for custody. Is it the collector or the archival institution? Which power do musicians, dancers and the community where the musics and dances originate have over materials? Which materials are copyrightable and which ones are not? What is the role of archivists towards the mitigation of copyright complexities between music collectors, archives and cultural heritage communities? How can archives assist fieldworkers and music performers obtain the rights they need besides helping them to protect these rights? (Seeger, 1992b; 1996; Bellini et al, 2003; Gehl, 2009; Katz, 2010). In an article that discusses the relationship between researchers, the recordings they make and the place of recordings in ethnomusicological scholarship, Fargion (2012) urges archivists to always consider communities where they make recordings as the primary owners of these materials.

Moreover, Seeger (1996:87-88) argues that archivists have the responsibility of helping community members to mitigate copyright issues as they conduct their research. Fargion and Seeger's views imply that the community has 'full' rights over its music and dance. In this regard, community members should determine the music and dance to be archived. They also have the right to know where such material is housed besides being able to access and use it whenever possible.

Although scholars have engaged with the question of copyright, there is still need to understand this issue from a wider perspective. One needs to understand the question of copyright in situations of rapid technological development. In this regard, what copyright issues come to the fore? By engaging with works of Seeger (1992b, 1996) and other scholars who have written about copyright, I identify the roles the different stakeholders participating in archiving music and dance among contemporary Bagisu can play in mitigating this issue. Indeed, the question of copyright is central to understanding how the more-inclusive postcolonial archive deals with material from different communities. In the following subsection, I review literature on archiving music and dance in Uganda.

1.6.3 Archiving Music and Dance in Uganda

Since gaining political independence in 1962, Uganda has established centres where material of enduring value is archived.[18] In spite of this, there is inadequate research on archiving music and dance in Uganda. Scholars have generally written about preservation of cultural heritage, mainly grounding their studies in disciplines including anthropology, archaeology, library science and museumology.[19] In such cases, music and dance are normally mentioned in passing with limited discussions highlighting how these aspects of culture are safeguarded for future generations. To establish a point of departure and demonstrate how the present study contributes to such debates, I provide an overview on studies related to archiving music and dance in Uganda.

As a country that is only growing in the archiving of music and dance, one theme that Ugandan scholars have dealt with relates to setting up an archive (Isabirye, 2004). Isabirye (2004:113-114) shares experiences on establishing an archive for the collection and

[18] It is important to note that some conservation centres including the Uganda National Museum, were established before independence (see Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub, 2012).
[19] See for example Nyiracyiza (2007).

documentation of popular music in Kampala City. Specifically, Isabirye demonstrates how the type of material collected dictates the nature of archive to be established.

Isabirye (2004:118) also discusses the process through which an archive can collect material. Among other ways, he shows how engagement with popular musicians during public seminars serves the dual purpose of sensitizing people about the need for preservation of musical heritage as well as becoming a site for making more archival collections. Particularly, contexts where musicians are brought together to be sensitised about the need to archive their music facilitates the collection of information which archivists could have missed as they documented the music of popular artists. In other words, what I have called 'sensitisation for collections'[20] can become a significant technique for contemporary archival institutions to collect more items which can fill gaps that those material already housed in archives have. The methodology of bringing musicians together in a central place, sensitise them and later record their music as discussed by Isabirye is an approach I drew on to engage with communities in Bududa District and Mbale Town. In this study, I saw the need to devise methodologies that serve more than one purpose. Among others, I developed a technique that allowed me collect data and use data collection occasions as platforms to showcase some of the materials collected elsewhere for elicitation of more responses from my research participants.

Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2006; 2015) is the other scholar who has done research on audio-visual archiving in Uganda. In the 2006 article, Nannyonga-Tamusuza discusses the challenges of defining music, especially popular music, with the aim of cataloguing it for future users. She discusses the ambiguity of defining popular music and the challenges it poses to determine what to archive under the popular music genre. Furthermore, in her work on written documentation of Wachsmann's collections, Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2015) discusses the importance of proper documentation for any archival work. She argues that any archive without proper documentation is almost useless. She contends that there are a number of stakeholders involved in creating meaning for the archival materials. As she puts it, by nature, archival collections do not possess meaning; meaning is constructed by a number of stakeholders, whom she calls the "archival community." To aid in the construction of this

[20] This technique involves bringing together musicians in one place, teaching them about the importance of depositing their songs in an archive and using such a context to collect information about their music. Isabirye notes that much as the CBR Archive had acquired CDs and DVDs of the songs performed by a number of Ugandan popular artists (especially those who were based in Kampala City), there was hardly any details on the CD or DVD cover to facilitate the documentation of these materials. As such, organising sensitisation seminars became a platform to collect such details.

meaning, which eventually facilitates accessibility and use of such material, there is need for members of the archival community to collaborate. In other words, collaboration between collectors, archivists and other members of the archival community provides a "systematic, dynamic and dialogic documentation" (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2015:27) of archival items, which eventually enhances the process of creating meaning for these items. Nannyonga-Tamusuza's views are significant in understanding some of the fundamental issues twenty-first century archival institutions grapple with. One of the questions I ask in this study relates to how the different stakeholders collaborate to ensure that the material they create and document is accessed by those who need it. I show the need for collaboration in doing archival work since such partnership fosters the creation of archives that serve the needs of different stakeholders. The present study brings a practical experience to Nannyonga-Tamusuza's (2015) ideas.

More so, although Isabirye (2004) and Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2006) did not address the question of indigenous and colonial archival practices, their views on the need to understand the material one is to collect for archives are significant for this study. Needless to say, one of the circumstances that led to the 'lopsidedness' of the nineteenth century archive was the failure by archivists to understand the conceptualisations and value of the material the communities possessed before collecting it for archives. This view is highlighted at the beginning of this dissertation, to underscore the fact that the mentality to collect cultural objects without consulting community members may have resulted into the creation of archives that served collectors more than the people whose materials were collected for custody. In addition, Nannyonga-Tamusuza's (2006) discussions on the state of archiving music and dance in Uganda is a springboard for my understanding of the background to archiving music and dance in Uganda. This latter theme forms a foundation for discussions on the history of archiving Kigisu music and dance as presented in Chapter Three.

Furthermore, the idea that archival institutions need to upgrade their technologies to match with the conditions of the time is among the areas scholars in Uganda have engaged with. This view is among the motivations calling for collaborations between archival institutions, community members, funders and the government on exchange of views about soft wares and equipment to be used for safeguarding cultural items such as music and dance of a particular community. The extent to which the archive can migrate materials from one format to another for purposes of ensuring the accessibility of such material to members of the public is the main theme of Namaganda's (2011) discussion. Namaganda (2011)

demonstrates how digitization of material from old and obsolete media including reel-to-reel tapes onto modern technologies, participates in enabling members of the university community access musical materials held by the Makerere University Library Digital Archive (MULDA). Moreover, she discusses the challenges such migration of material entails. In relation to the present study, Namaganda's (2011:4) insights on "collaborative linkages" between MULDA and other related institutions are significant in illuminating how archival institutions like MAKWAA can work with other stakeholders to understand the approaches the former adopt to archive their music and dance. Basing their discussions on technology, scholars including Seeger (2004) as well as Seeger & Chaudhuri (2004) also underscore this view when they point out that there is need for collaborations between different stakeholders involved in archiving music (and dance) to achieve sustainable preservation of such material as this dissertation demonstrates. As such, if stakeholders work together to archive music and dance, they achieve many goals, including how to establish archival practices that cater for the needs of different people.

Further, repatriation of archives is the other area that defines research on music archiving in Uganda. Kahunde (2012) as well as Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012) have engaged in discussions on ways the archive and its related practices can be reconceptualised. Largely informed by debates in applied ethnomusicology, this new scholarship on music archiving shows how adoption of such archival practices like repatriation of material back to source communities can positively impact the lives of those whose musical material was collected. Like Fargion & Landau (2012) have pointed out, Kahunde (2012) as well as Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012) argue that archives are expected to play an important role in advocacy and ensure a fair sharing of knowledge between scholars, academic institutions and local communities.[21] These scholars have examined how repatriation of material to source communities can be one of the appropriate ways contemporary archives can draw on to promote the cultural practices of different communities in Uganda.

By describing the processes through which they conducted their projects, Kahunde (2012) as well as Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012) engage in activities that show how contemporary archivists can deal with ethics and copyright issues. One of the ethical questions these scholars ask relates to how members of a particular community continue to

[21] See also Seeger (1996:88-89) for similar views.

use the music and dance repatriated to them. This question stems from the fact that musical materials returned to a particular community may have been collected many years ago, under contexts which may be different from the present ones. To this end, taking them back may evoke bad memories, which may create unnecessary tension in society. Other issues discussed by Kahunde (2012) as well as Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012) include technologies used by nineteenth century scholars to make their collections and methodologies adopted when dealing with repatriation of musical materials back to communities. There is also the issue of how to deal with power relations to ensure that people of different categories participate in the process of archiving music and dance. Finally, there are discussions on the merits associated with repatriation as an archival practice. From enabling members of the family of the deceased to be able to hear the voices of their dead relatives to use of repatriated material to revive lost traditions, repatriation is seen as a significant archival practice during the twenty-first century.

As Kahunde (2012) as well as Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012) were engaged in activities that 'took the archive to communities', my study adopted methodologies that demanded that I involve local communities in processes of creating archives. In other words, how can different people work together from the time materials are collected, documented and made accessible to end-users and build an archive? How can they also collaborate to mitigate copyright and ethical issues? I also bring to the fore experiences of working in several contexts – rural and urban – to understand how the lifestyle of people in different settings impacts on the way they archive and manage their music and dance. In the next subsection, I review scholarly works on indigenous approaches of archiving music and dance. This review is intended to illuminate the different ways people archive music, dance and how such ways of archiving are influenced by the contexts in which the people live.

1.6.4 Indigenous Approaches to Archiving Music and Dance

Although studies on archiving music and dance have gained momentum over the years, there is still inadequate scholarly work on indigenous approaches to archiving music and dance. To guide my review in this subsection, I draw on research done in fields including archaeology and ethnomusicology by indigenous and no-indigenous scholars. As pointed out above, this review is not only intended to inform the present study and fill gaps that other scholars did not tackle in their works, it also demonstrates how archival approaches adopted by a certain community are influenced by the context under which people live.

One theme discussed in this area relates to scholars' calls for an understanding of the concepts of the archive and archiving beyond conventional definitions of these terms. Among the scholars engaged in these debates is Muller (2002) in her work on archiving Africanness through song composition. Muller (2002:409) draws on Derrida's (1995) notion of archival fever to argue that the "idea of the archive" is not only found in "cultures with technologies of repetition, such as writing, sound recording, and film." According to Muller (2002:409), the notion of the archive should be understood as a "site of safeguarding in [both] oral and literate cultures." She uses the example of song composition to point out that song is a mechanism of creating and depositing materials by the composer for future use. As such, one can regard a song as a site where the composer creates, deposits and retrieves material related to the history of the community. Besides song compositions, Muller suggests that even oral traditions and the practice of purchasing souvenirs as well as creating personal collections in one's home is tantamount to archiving.

Muller's viewpoints have been developed by Sanga (2014) in his work on archiving music and dance through musical paintings. Sanga draws on selected musical paintings of Elias Jenjo (a Tanzanian fine artist) to discuss how they become a space to archive African or Tanzanian identity. As someone who has taught fine art to numerous students in schools, colleges and universities, Sanga (2014:141) presents Jengo as someone who "participates in archiving African traditional music and African identity [because he shapes] an artistic sensibility and style among younger artists who collectively link their present […] artistic productions to Africa's musical past." In this way, Sanga looks at Jengo as an archivist who, through his activities of painting, as well as teaching students, safeguards Tanzania cultural identity.

Related to the above views are discussions about YouTube as a site for archiving not only music and dance, but also other forms of intangible heritage of several communities around the world. From how material to be safeguarded on this video-hosting site is being collected, its documentation to when it is disseminated, YouTube is presented as an archive that captures live performances, recreates them through user-generated content and transmits them to different users around the world. Among the scholars engaged in this area is Pietrobruno (2013) who draws on the Mevlevi Sema ceremony (from Turkey) to demonstrate how UNESCO safeguards material that is officially recognised as world intangible heritage through YouTube. Among the significant issues that Pietrobruno underscores is the idea that

archiving material through YouTube blurs the difference between lived and documented performances since embodied or lived performances also stand as sites of archiving material.

The above ideas are significant to this study in several ways. Firstly, they broaden my understanding of the notion of the archive beyond conventional definitions of the term. More specifically, these viewpoints illuminate the processes of capturing, documenting, safeguarding and managing material under different contexts. By drawing on Muller's and Sanga's ideas for instance, I discuss how the Bagisu in Bududa District and Mbale Town conceptualise the archive and archiving. Specifically, the views of these scholars enhance my conceptualisation of custodians of rituals like *imbalu* (circumcision) and *ingoma yo mufu* (funeral dancing) as archivists of the community and these social events as sites of archiving music and dance. Furthermore, I conceive the act of some people in Mbale Town to collect, process and transmit Kigisu music and dance as an act of archiving. Moreover, Sanga gives an example of how Jengo, the visual artist and teacher, acts as an archive of Tanzanian cultural identity through transferring his knowledge unto his students who also transmit it to future generations. These views enhance my discussions on how custodians of ritual performances among the Bagisu become archives who do not only safeguard the ritual and its associated music and dance, but also aid in the transmission of information about the ritual in question from one generation to another. Lastly, as I demonstrate through this study, the advancement of technology has influenced the Bagisu, particularly those living in Mbale Town, to upload *imbalu* circumcision musics and dance on YouTube. Although Pietrobruno (2013) has not investigated ethical issues that come to the fore when musical materials are being hosted on YouTube, my study addresses a number of questions in relation to this. For instance, which ethical issues come to the fore when circumcision music and dance are circulated beyond the confines of the Bagisu? Who gives permission to these people to upload such material unto YouTube? By answering these questions, this study fills the gaps left by Pietrobruno.

In addition to discussions on the notion of the archive and forms of archiving, the implications of international declarations on preservation and management of cultural items of local communities is another topic that has preoccupied scholars engaged with indigenous forms of safeguarding culture. One of the pioneering studies in this area is Keitumetse's (2006) research on the implications of the 2003 UNESCO Convention on safeguarding intangible cultural heritage on local approaches to preserving and managing heritage. Conducting her research in Tlokweng village (Botswana), Keitumetse criticises the idea of

inventorying, which demands that countries that ratify this convention publish lists of their intangible heritage[22] to enable UNESCO easily identify and preserve such material. Keitumetse (2006:167) points out that the tendency to create inventories about a community's cultural heritage as well as articulating the way it is locally preserved and managed has the potential of devaluing its cultural and social capital.[23] Ketumetse illustrates her views by making reference to the Batlokwa ethnic group (in Tlokweng Village). She notes that these people bury the dead in residential plots and argues that this form of burial is "imbued with multiple meanings that form the basis for the ethnic group's social ideology, providing a framework for social understanding, interaction and cohesion" (Ketumetse, 2006:167). Based on such a scenario, it becomes plausible that in African contexts, the production, use and management of cultural objects is done through subtle and exclusive socio-cultural procedures carried out by selected members of a community. As such, creating inventories does not only lead to over exposure of such material, but also renders the role of cultural brokers null and void. What may result from such tendencies are complexities related to copyright since cultural items meant for a specific group are accessed and used by people elsewhere.

Related to Keitumetse's assertions is Kigongo & Reid's (2007) work on Kasubi royal tomb, a burial place for Baganda kings (also known as *Basekaabaka*), located about 4KMs from Kampala, the capital of Uganda. The major theme of discussion in Kigongo's and Reid's paper is the place of local communities and politics in the management of Kasubi royal tombs. These scholars trace the history of these tombs, discuss the architectural designs, materials for construction and how the tombs have been preserved and managed amidst the politics of different periods – precolonial, colonial and postcolonial times. As Kigongo & Reid (2007:373) have pointed out, the royal tombs at Kasubi consist of several houses designed in various shapes and taking on several names, with the main tomb building taking the name of *muzibu-azaala-mpanga* (it is unusual person who begets a cock).[24] In terms of preservation, these scholars note that besides the use of specific tree species to construct the houses found at these royal tombs, thick thatches are used to protect the buildings and their

[22] Intangible heritage includes ritual practices, dances, musics, indigenous knowledge and folklore of a particular community.
[23] Cultural capital generally denotes the accumulation of knowledge, behaviours, and skills that one can tap into to demonstrate his/her cultural competence and thus his/her social status or standing in society. Conversely, social capital refers to various resources that people boast of as they relate with one another in families, communities and other social networks.
[24] Literally translated as "only a king can bear an heir to the throne."

contents (Kigongo & Reid, 2007:374). Moreover, the chief of Busiro is the custodian entrusted with the role of taking care of these tombs. Important to note, is the idea by Kigongo & Reid that management of these tombs has changed hands at different historical periods (precolonial, colonial and post-colonial times). From the Baganda custodians, Uganda Government's Department of Museums and Monuments to UNESCO, these stakeholders have managed these cultural objects at particular times thus encountering specific political situations. More so, these scholars criticise the idea that cultural objects like burial grounds should be left under the preservation and management of community members since they can do it better. In this regard, Kigongo & Reid (2007:380) argue that when we say local communities should manage such resources through their own means, we "tend to present a picture of unity of purpose as if there were self-regulating consensus whereby all members of society could habitually identify and undertake the appropriate course of action."

These themes as discussed by Keitumetse (2006) as well as Kigongo & Reid (2007) relate with the current study in a number of ways. Beginning with Keitumetse, she evokes the idea of copyright and how it becomes complicated when material belonging to a particular community is accessed and consumed elsewhere. Needless to mention, when cultural items of a particular community are accessed and consumed in another place, who claims rights of ownership? In other words, how do we know the producer of such items? This question also comes up on discussions relating to music kiosks in Mbale Town. Do these kiosks have the right of ownership over Kigisu material they collect from the countryside which they process and circulate to town dwellers? Indeed, by evoking copyright issues in contexts of inventorying and showcasing a community's cultural items elsewhere, Keitumetse's research informs the present dissertation. Moreover, in spite of not discussing music and dance, Kigongo & Reid bring to the fore pertinent issues. First, by discussing the political situations under which Kasubi royal tombs have been preserved and managed, these scholars implicitly evoke the question of context. As presented in this study, people live under different contexts and such contexts influence the way their music and dance are archived. Besides, Kigongo & Reid mention the different stakeholders involved in safeguarding Kasubi tombs and the role they have played in this process. These stakeholders include community members and their leaders, as well as government and international organisations such as UNESCO. By drawing on Kigongo & Reid's views on context and role of stakeholders in preserving Kasubi tombs, I acquire insights that inform the present study. More so, the present study adds to the above scholars' viewpoints by discussing music and dance from the Bagisu, a community whose

socio-economic, religious and political setting is different from that of the Baganda. In the following sub-section, I review literature on why and how creation of partnerships is significant in the process of archiving music and dance.

1.6.5 Centrality of forging Partnerships with Communities in Building 'Sustainable' Archives for Music and Dance

As part of the effort to change the face of music (and dance) archiving, Ruskin (2006) and Vallier (2010), among other scholars, have demonstrated why and how partnerships with a number of stakeholders are significant in this process. Understanding how these partnerships can be forged enhances the creation of sustainable preservation models for music, dance and other oral materials of a community. However, as such debates rage on, there is still no scientific investigation into why and how such partnerships lead to an understanding of how indigenous and colonial archival practices can be harnessed into an approach that integrates these archives. Indeed, scholarly investigations into collaborative archiving can be a gateway to the understanding of how different communities conceptualise, value and preserve their musics, dances and other cultural objects. In this subsection, I present some of the discussions scholars present on why and how archival institutions should partner with communities where they collect material to build archives that serve the needs of different stakeholders.

One of the justifications for engagement in community partnerships relates to overcoming what ethnomusicology archivist Vallier (2010:42) regards as "archival ennui". As Vallier defines it, archival ennui is the "feeling of mental weariness and a lack of interest in archives in terms of both using them for research and supporting them." Like other scholars I have mentioned in relation to reconceptualization of the archive, Vallier implores archivists to diversify the activities of the archive. Among these activities is taking material from archives to communities and involving the latter in re-arranging such material in ways that resonate with their needs (Evans, 2007:389-392). Since community members are ultimately among the users of the archival material, scholars including Evans (2007), argue that archivists need to work with these people to establish means of ensuring that such materials are accessed and used. According to Evans, there is need to create online access and a forum where people can engage in debates on best practices in archiving, something that creates a feeling of joint ownership of materials.

The notion of archival ennui as used by Vallier accrues from his experience in archiving music at the University of California, Los Angeles and University of Washington, Seattle in the United States of America (USA). Through his activities, Vallier underscores the need for archival institutions to 'open' their doors and involve communities in the process of archiving material to make archives meaningful. Vallier contends that to change the face of archiving through involvement of communities is to run away from 'salvage' ethnomusicology where the collection and preservation of musical materials become ends in themselves. As he puts it, ethnomusicology archivists need not collect and preserve music for the sake of gathering such material and ensuring their preservation but should preserve material for purposes of serving people, to culminate into what Landau & Fargion (2012:125) regard as a "fairer ethnomusicology." A fairer ethnomusicology is the study of musical cultures with the aim of not only conducting research to create knowledge, but also serving communities. Serving communities through ethnomusicological scholarship implies advocating for culture, partnering with community members to revive lost traditions well as working with them to safeguard their music traditions.

More so, Seeger (1986) looks at local partnerships as a means for music collectors and fieldworkers to 'give back' to the people upon whose music the former drew their theories. Fieldworkers should return the musics they record when they interact with people during research since such material can be used by community members. Underscoring this point, Seeger (1986:266) writes that:

> [t]he people from whose music we have developed our general theories about music-making are not always enthusiastic about the theories we have produced. We ourselves are not even happy with most of them […] But the descendants of the people upon whose recordings the theories were based would like to obtain the original recordings for their own contemporary social and political uses.

From these insights, we see partnerships helping to bring together music scholars and the people who own the music to share the outcome of the research. Seeger also discusses ethical and copyright issues as associated with music and demonstrates how creation of partnerships provides archivists, collectors, fieldworkers and community members a platform to mitigate questions relating to ethics and copyright.

In addition to the above insights, the work of Seeger (2004:95-96) on new technology and its influence on archiving music discusses how a "decentralized approach to preserving

human wisdom" can play a role in creating sustainable music archives. This idea relates to the need to deal with every community in its own context as we collect and preserve the musical materials of different societies. As he argues, although communities are not homogenous and static – that is, they change and so are their choices of what to preserve - they have their own criteria of choosing what to preserve, something that may be of interest to music archivists and collectors (Seeger, 2004:98). From this perspective, if one needs to understand how communities preserve and transmit music and dance, there is need to involve them in processes of collecting, documenting and managing such material. Collaborations also lead to the understanding of ways archivists can help community members preserve their music and dance and how each of them can learn from one another on best archival practices.

Furthermore, the creation of partnerships in the process of archiving music and dance avoids duplication and wastage of resources (Seeger & Chaudhuri, 2004). In their work on archiving music and dance in this globalised context, Seeger & Chaudhuri (2004) implore institutions engaged in archiving music and dance to always form alliances not only as they collect, but also as they work towards the understanding of technological and copyright issues. These scholars point out that archives grapple with numerous challenges ranging from limited funding, staffing and unfair government policies, which eventually affect their operations. As they argue, in order to overcome these problems and also maximise the use of resources,[25] there is need to create partnerships between a number of archival institutions. To underscore this point, Seeger & Chaudhuri (2004:11) write that:

> There is a great benefit to be gained from consultation and collaboration. Archives should be very careful about making decisions on their own […] They should take advantage of the expertise of other institutions, and archives [since this minimises wastage of resources].

Engaging in collaborations with other institutions enables archives to define the nature of their collections as well as gain insights on drafting documents that spell out how the day-to-day running of the archive can be handled.

The importance of creating networks has motivated scholars to devise ways through which such partnerships can be realized. In her work on *Written Documentation of Klaus Wachsmann's Collections*, Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2015) demonstrates that these partnerships

[25] This idea relates to Nannyonga-Tamusuza's (2006:34) concern about unpredictability of resources to use for archival work thus imploring archivists to ensure that they do not collect everything. Forging partnerships is among the means to ensure collection of 'right' items.

can be made during different stages of archiving material. At the phase of making collections, fieldworkers need to work with musicians to understand the nature of music performed, names of musicians as well as gather other necessary details. When archivists receive material to be archived, they need to collaborate with music collectors to get field notes, transcriptions of the songs and other details which are needed for describing items brought to the archive. More importantly, music collectors are in a better position to link the archivist with community members through the constant interactions they have with the latter during fieldwork. At the time of repatriating archival materials back to communities, collection custodians need to come on board to help archivists and music collectors in documenting what Nannyonga-Tamusuza calls "residual materials". Residual materials are the items the collector retains after sorting out what s/he needs to deposit to the archive and yet are important during the time of repatriation.

Similarly, to justify his engagement with Filipino Americans in Los Angeles during his Archiving Filipino Music in Los Angeles – AFAMILA project – Ruskin (2006:2) implores archives to develop methodologies which foster partnerships. Such methodological approaches are those that lead to bringing archival material to communities as well as encouraging community members to perform more music that can be collected by archives. Ruskin shares experiences on how he took Filipino music from the confines of the archive at UCLA to Filipino communities in Los Angeles. By playing archival recordings to Filipino audiences where artists also performed, he used these occasions to collect new materials for the archive thus not only showcasing what was contained in the archive, but also making more recordings to enrich archival holdings from the community he engaged with. This approach of conducting archival work was also used by Isabirye (2004) while collecting popular music in Kampala (Uganda) (See also Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub 2012).

Through his sound elicitation approach that involved taking Xhosa music from ILAM to Xhosa communities in Grahams Town (South Africa), Lobley (2012:187) employed what he calls "social mechanisms" to engage with these people. These mechanisms included taking musical materials to people's homes and yards, schools and working with local DJs to play music in entertainment contexts. They also involved taking music to centres of the elderly, market places, streets, clubs and organizing carts to move around townships with equipment playing music. As Lobley (2012:194) argues, all these strategies stand out as a tool for modernizing "academic archival practice," which has historically thrived on serving the

interests of institutions in which archives are part other than the needs of community members.

Despite scholars' efforts to investigate the theme of collaborative archiving, creating partnerships with communities to understand the nature of music and dance and the practices they adopt to preserve such materials, is still lacking in ethnomusicological literature. Moreover, there is need to understand how a community such as the Bagisu can collaborate with archivists, fieldworkers among other stakeholders, to preserve their musics, dances and related cultural objects during this twenty-first century. The need to establish sustainable archival models demands an understanding of how local communities conceptualise, value and preserve their music and dance in the various contexts they live and this can be achieved when we work together. As Ruskin (2006) has rightly argued, collaborative archiving participates in subverting discourses of power that have historically shaped music archiving, the debates to which this study contributes. In the following section, I discuss the theoretical approaches this study draws on.

1.7 Theoretical Approaches to the Study

1.7.1 Introduction

Before embarking on fieldwork, I had a preliminary overview of the theories related to archiving, particularly those that engage with archiving music and dance. The purpose of this engagement was twofold: 1) for acquaintance with salient theoretical concepts pervading the area I was working on; and 2) to keep my study focused during fieldwork. I wanted to understand how the notion of the archive is defined by scholars in order to create a point of departure into investigations leading to the understanding of fundamental issues related to archiving music and dance during the contemporary period.

While I understood the theoretical underpinnings of my work prior to fieldwork, I was aware of the dangers associated with determining one's theoretical roadmap before conducting fieldwork. As scholars including White (2009:22-26) have observed, predetermination of one's theories before data collection may lead to superimposition of field material unto an inappropriate theory. As such, I analysed my data bearing in mind that the views and experiences of the research participants should determine the kind of theoretical

issues to engage with in this dissertation. I have reconciled the preliminary work on theories with data collected from the field.

This study is an ethnomusicological investigation of the practices the Bagisu in Bududa District and those living in Mbale Town adopt to archive music and dance. My goal is to establish an archival practice that suits the socio-cultural, religious, economic and technological conditions in which twenty-first century Bagisu live. To achieve this, I found two broad theoretical approaches appropriate: 1) the postcolonial and 2) globalisation theory. First, to demonstrate how the postcolonial theory relates to this study, I discuss the nature of the colonial archive and its place in concretising colonial representations of colonised people. Discussions on the colonial archive are essential in justifying why and how this study contributes to debates towards the deconstruction of colonial archival practices, which are among the models adopted by contemporary Bagisu to archive music and dance.

As I also discuss in this section, my engagement with the globalisation theory is to demonstrate how the use of technology has fostered a practice by music kiosk owners in Mbale Town to circulate *imbalu* circumcision music and dance via video-hosting sites like YouTube. The ability to upload music and dances integrated in *imbalu* rituals on YouTube has allowed people from other parts of the world to consume these cultural materials. Considering that those who upload material online do not do so in consultation with community members, I argue that globalisation has led to a practice where people engaged in music kiosk businesses subvert the power of Bagisu elders, whose role includes regulating the use of musical and other materials associated with *imbalu* performances. The elders ensure that particular *imbalu* rituals, musics and dances are accessed by the Bagisu people, the bonafide 'creators' and 'owners' of such items. Before discussing these issues, I find it pertinent to present the colonial archive to show how and why this archival practice needs to be deconstructed during this twenty-first century.

1.7.2 Archive as a Tool of Colonial Power

The notion of the archive has pervaded disciplines like anthropology, library science, literary studies, history, political science and sociology for many centuries. Derived from the Greek word "arche" which denotes "power or government" (Ketelaar, 2002:226; Derrida, 1996:1-2), the archive is mainly used to refer to records or items of enduring value that are

kept for use by future generations.[26] However, scholars like Stoler (2002); Evans (2007) and Huvila (2008) use the term archive to generally denote an institution where items of enduring value are collected, documented, arranged and kept for access by other people in future.

To distinguish the archive as 'material' or 'records' from archive as 'place'/ 'institution' when this concept enters music discourse, concepts like "holdings" (Seeger, 1986:261), "body of existing knowledge" (Agawu, 2003:24), "recordings" (Fargion, 2012:50) and "archival recordings" (Fargion & Landau, 2012:125) are used to evoke the former meaning. Seeger (1986), Fargion (2012) as well as Fargion & Landau (2012) draw on the practice of archiving music and dance to discuss the notion of the archive. However, Agawu's viewpoints about the archive are informed by his discussions of African music to highlight the nature of knowledge created about African music and how this knowledge is represented, disseminated and consumed by scholars from both the global north and south. Bruno Nettl (1964:17) and Fargion (2004:447) liken archives to libraries especially in terms of the roles the two institutions play in relation to taking custody of material. Despite these definitions, the general view about archives as places for keeping inactive documents of both the government and private organisations and archives as documents/items created by institutions for future use is as pervasive as ever. This view is captured by Mbembe (2002:19) in his work on the power of the archive by noting that:

> The term 'archives' first refers to a building, a symbol of a public institution, which is one of the organs of a constituted state. However, by 'archives' is also understood a collection of documents – normally written documents – kept in this building. There cannot therefore be a definition of 'archives' that does not encompass both the building itself and the documents stored there.

Mbembe also points out that materials contained in archival institutions undergo a systematic and rigorous process which begins with the selection of the item to be archived, description and documentation of such an item and its placement in archives. The archival process is done in a manner that resonates with the institution's policies on acquisition, documentation, cataloguing and accessibility. Further still, Ketalaar (2002: 223) has noted that examining this process shows that there are values that were infused in the creation of the record. To understand what Ketelaar regards as the "reality" of an archival item, is to investigate the qualities it acquires through the practice of inclusion and exclusion of certain details from

[26] See for example, discussions by historical geographer, Gillian Rose (2000) in her article on the importance of photography as a record of historically-specific ways of seeing and representing the world.

such an item. Indeed, "what has been excluded from the record determines its meaning as much as what has been included" (Bearman, 2002:324). At the centre of mediating the activities of the archive is the archivist, whose primary role is to regulate the acquisition, documentation, cataloguing and accessibility of the materials housed there. As Bearman (2002:324) continues to write, historically, the archivist has "shaped the record dramatically by selecting what to keep [and what to discard]."

On the surface, archives are seen as places where government and private organisations keep valuable documents and other material for future generations. Despite playing this role, a closer engagement with scholarly works on archiving reveals that archives played a crucial role in fostering state power and hegemony especially during the turn of the nineteenth century. This was an epoch during which Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and other European powers scrambled for colonies in other parts of the world, particularly Africa. The archive became a site for practising and sustaining their power throughout their colonies. To expound on this idea and later demonstrate how and why scholars have advocated for the deconstruction of the colonial archive, let me draw on the works of Stoler (2002), Ketelaar (2002), Mbembe (2002) and Featherstone (2006). These scholars present archives as items (holdings) or institutions for depositing and safeguarding government or documents/records belonging to private organisations. In spite of this assertion, they argue that examining the architectural design of the buildings taking custody of such items, the way archival holdings were created, placed and arranged as well as procedures on accessibility, point to archives as centres where colonial administration was anchored.[27]

As Ketelaar (2002: 227) writes, the design of buildings where nineteenth century archives were housed was related to a panopticon. A panopticon was a type of seventeenth century French prison designed to ensure total surveillance of inmates. It was made with a special room where the prison warder could sit and remain unnoticed so that s/he could monitor the movements of inmates with a view of understanding what they say and do. Understanding movements of inmates was intended to inform 'appropriate' actions which authorities were to adopt in order to completely subdue the incarcerated. By concealing the identity of the warder, panopticons did not only enhance the physical imprisonment of people, but also ensured that those imprisoned feel as free as they could since they were not

[27] See similar discussions by Bandyopadhyay (2011:296).

able to know that someone was watching over them. In relation to colonial archives, although such items like photographs could be displayed on walls, most of the archival holdings were held in prison-like repositories. Besides the way items were kept, archivists (whose roles were likened to those of prison warders) occupied a central place where they could easily see users as they consulted the documents. These were the documents created about citizens as they sought 'services' in hospitals, schools, churches and other public institutions. These documents became a source of surveillance by the state on its citizens. The following excerpt is drawn from Ketelaar's work on archival institutions and can be used to demonstrate how nineteenth century archival institutions were structured with the aim of using them as the seat of power for the state. Ketelaar (2002:234) writes that:

> The panoptical archive disciplines and controls through knowledge-power. This knowledge is embedded in the records, their content, form, structure and context. Moreover, the physical ordering of the archives in the paper world and the logical ordering of digital archives express knowledge power. Archival institutions, unlike libraries, do not publicly display their holdings to offer a panoptic view to their clients. But they do display the knowledge-power of the finding aids, as representation of what the public may not see openly, but may expect to find behind the closed doors of the prison-like repository.

Ketelaar's ideas illuminate how the archive's central position in fostering the power of the state cannot be discarded. Similarly, although Mbembe enumerates other ways archives acquire their status and power, what he calls the "architectural dimension" plays a fundamental role in giving the archive its power. Mbembe (2002:19) summarises this as follows:

> architectural design encompasses the physical space of the site of the building, its motifs and columns, the arrangement of rooms, the organisation of the 'files', the labyrinth of corridors, and that degree of discipline, half-light and austerity that gives the place something of the nature of the temple and cemetery.

Colonial archives were at the whim of perpetuating state power among what Featherstone (2006:591) calls "colonial populations." These archives also acted as knowledge systems to monitor and spy on rival territories. According to Featherstone (2006:591), colonial empires needed "whole epistemological complex[es] to gather together […] statistical data generated by the central administration … [and] the various sorts of local knowledge of the Empire and its borderlands, along with detailed knowledge of the structure

of its rivals." This idea implies that archives became systems of intelligence gathering and conduits by an empire to thwart whatever its rivals were planning. As pointed out earlier, mediating the power of the archive is the archivist, whom Ketelaar (2002:236) refers to as the "kingdom ruler" of the archive. In such archives, archivists were at the centre of enforcing policies on acquisition of materials, their documentation and accessibility to ensure that the 'right' items are collected, catalogued, safeguarded and consulted or accessed by the public.

Despite the ethnomusicology archive changing its face since mid-1980s, it is largely anchored on the colonial model. Some of its activities in the contemporary period are reminiscent of what happened during the last half of the nineteenth century, the period that saw sound archives springing up in the western world. Seeger (1986:266) observes that the time sound archives were established coincided with the "consolidation of the mercantile and political expansion" of imperial power in many parts of the world. As scholars including Nketia (1986:36) have also pointed out, during this period, not only did explorers, travellers, missionaries and colonial agents record substantial amounts of music and dance performances from the communities they operated, they also deposited these materials in their home archives. These recordings became the fulcrum upon which arm-chair research was conducted, the practice, which later led to the establishment of comparative musicology as a discipline of study. Comparative musicologists preoccupied themselves with comparing the musical cultures of different communities around the world, whose activities later metamorphosed into ethnomusicology.

Much as former colonies like Uganda have begun establishing archives to house the music and dance of their people, such materials, especially as were collected by colonial agents, are still kept in archival institutions abroad. Furthermore, archival institutions continue to have the discretion of deciding what should be collected and how this material should be documented. Moreover, the items collected continue to be inaccessible to local communities both in terms of getting and using them as well as understanding what they really mean. In other words, communities do not know where material collected from them is housed and in cases where they get these items, they do not understand what they really mean. Fargion (2012:54) re-echoes this latter observation when she writes about archives as "inaccessible black hole[s]." This view shows that sound archives continue to hold materials for the benefit of institutions for which they were attached at the expense of communities where such materials were collected. This trend of affairs should be changed if we are to establish archives that are sustainable since they will serve the needs of people involved in an

archival project. In the section that follows, I demonstrate how I drew on the postcolonial theory to examine the process of deconstructing this colonial archival practice.

1.7.3 Postcolonial Theory

Conducting research on African cultures, particularly music and dance, during this twenty-first century necessitated engagement with postcolonial discourses. Literally, the concept of postcolonial (postcolonialism) denotes the period after colonisation. Scholars including Slemon (1994:16) relate postcolonialism to a "condition of nativist longing in post-independence national grouping." Although Slemon liken the postcolonial period to post-independence (the time during which former colonial states begun managing affairs of their countries), Solomon (2012) observes that there are certain values (related to colonial mentalities) that continue to circulate in the postcolonial state long after the attainment of political independence. Solomon writes that "independence in itself did not eradicate the influence of the colonising powers" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2003:195, quoted in Solomon, 2012:219). This implies that there is always the conscious or unconscious continuation of colonial values, attitudes and representations during the post-independence era. As it has become the norm, people from former colonial powers continue to assume higher status than their counterparts from former colonial states. In the same way, those who were formerly colonised continue to assume low status and take cultural values from their former colonisers as of higher value and status than theirs. Indeed, when Stoler (2002:89) stresses that we should treat "colonialism as a living history that informs and shapes the present rather than as a finished past", her viewpoint can be evoked to sum up the continuous influence of colonial power in the former colonial states.

To view colonial influences as living history is one of the motivations to justify the idea that there is need to decolonise the minds of both the formerly colonised people and their colonisers. As Solomon (2012:219) writes, to decolonise the mind entails "exposing colonial attitudes as not naturally given, but constructed and therefore contestable". The task of decolonising the mind is an ongoing one, also implying that postcolonialism is "not tied to a specific historical moment, in the sense of a particular point in time, but is rather a set of ongoing processes comprising the decolonising of systems of representations as well as of social relationships, ranging from the institutions of the state to everyday interpersonal relations, such as those pertaining to gender and class" (Solomon, 2012:219). Since postcolonialism undergoes processes, it then follows that there are 'postcolonialisms'

manifesting themselves through different socio-economic, political, religious and cultural domains.

Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (2003:1)[28] assert that scholars drawing on a postcolonial approach engage in critical investigations of the effect of imperial power and its legacy on the cultural values of the colonised after decolonisation. These legacies include the conscious and unconscious continuation of colonial attitudes, values and representations of the colonised people. There is also the desire for the renaissance of the aspects of the colonised society and culture on the part of the former colonial power as well as issues of relations of economic domination as renewed through globalisation. Using an activist stance, scholars adopting the postcolonial approach usually take an historical approach to understand colonial influences on aspects like language, music productions, among others (Featherstone, 2006:151). Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (2003:2) continue to point out that to draw on a postcolonial approach is to describe the "world as it exists during and after the period of European imperial domination and the effects of this" on people's lives from the perspective of their culture. The aim here is to enable the so-called 'primitive' societies speak for themselves through reconceptualization, unmasking and demystifying of such notions like 'modernity' or 'backwardness', some of the stereotypes used to define colonized peoples and their cultural practices.

While postcolonial studies have pervaded what I would call 'mainstream' humanities and the social sciences since the collapse of colonial rule in Africa and other lands that were formerly colonized, these have recently entered African music discourse and the area of archiving. To begin such discussions in African music is Agawu (1995; 2003) through his works: *The invention of 'African Rhythm'* and *Representing African Music: Postcolonial notes, Queries, Positions*. In his work, Agawu (1995) engages in debates aimed at deconstructing the romanticizing notion of African music as something summarized through its rhythmic structures. He also illuminates the foreign influences on African music as well as problematizing such concepts like 'black' and 'white' music which had pervaded scholarship of African and western music (Agawu, 2003: xvii). Despite such debates towards the decolonization of ethnomusicology, there is still a tendency where scholars from the global north move and conduct research in the global south as well as most by-products including textbooks and musical recordings from studies conducted in Africa and other places like the

[28] See also the same authors (2006).

Middle East being mainly processed and consumed in metropolis cities with people in the global south almost not accessing such material (Agawu, 2003:24).[29]

As I have already discussed, the archive has acted as the "supreme technology" – to use Stoler's (2002:87) words – of the colonial state. Policies on what, how much, why and how material should be collected, documented, catalogued and accessed have been orchestrated by those at the top to be implemented by people at the bottom. In spite of MAKWAA repatriating its material to source communities, organising exhibitions to take the archive to the people and involve indigenous Ugandan scholars to collect and document musical materials, the archive in Uganda is generally built on the colonial infrastructure. I have drawn on the postcolonial approach to demonstrate how this mentality to archiving can be changed. In his insights on how to decolonise ethnomusicology, Solomon (2012) argues that there is need to emphasise an applied aspect in the conduct of research and teaching. He underscores the need to build archives to act as repositories to safeguard music (and dance) from local communities. As Solomon (2012:237) writes, an "applied aspect, focussing on building local archives and museum holdings, repatriating recordings and other material collected by foreign researchers and held outside the country" is a crucial means through which ethnomusicology should be decolonised.

Although what Solomon has advocated for is an important step towards ensuring accessibility of music and dance on the part of the community, in the present study, I have demonstrated how engaging different stakeholders participates in the making of 'sustainable' archives for contemporary Bagisu. The colonial approach privileged certain types of knowledge to be collected and taken for custody. To this, Stoler (2002) implores scholars drawing on the postcolonial approach to always ask questions about what she calls "accredited knowledge and power". To her, one needs to investigate "what political forces, social cues, and moral virtues produce qualified knowledges that, in turn, disqualified other ways of knowing other, knowledges" (Stoler, 2002:95). These are some of the ideas informing my discussions in this study.

As will be discussed in Chapter Six, deconstructing the colonial archive demands bringing on board several people engaged in archiving, not as mere participants, but as stakeholders. From musicians, community members and their leaders, cultural leaders, those

[29] Jean Ngoya Kidula (2006) also discusses how African music has continued to be analysed and interpreted through theoretical perspectives developed for western music. She argues that African music needs to be studied and understood from its own contexts.

engaged in repackaging music and dance for business, to music collectors and archivists, different people need to be involved in archiving as stakeholders. Working under the framework of a more-inclusive post-colonial archive, these people can work to understand the nature of material to be collected for safeguarding. They can also work to ensure that archival materials are accessed by end-users through opening doors to archives as well as providing documentation that enhances the understanding of archival materials (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2015) besides mitigating copyright and ethical issues associated with safeguarding cultural items of a community. In the following section, I discuss how changing power dynamics offer an opportunity for a particular community to adopt archival practices that enable people access information that would otherwise be hidden from them.

1.7.3.1 Changing Power Dynamics and Archiving Material Culture

In discussions under subsection 1.7.2., it becomes apparent that the perpetuators of the colonial archive were able to sustain it because they had power. They were able to control the material brought to the archive, decide on the type of documentation to accompany such material, the nature of catalogues to be created, how the material was placed on shelves and its access to end-users. Through the various 'control mechanisms', especially by giving the archivist power to regulate the activities of the archive as already discussed, the archive became the centre for consolidating the power of the state. Although she does not mention whether she is influenced by Marxist ideas or not, Mills (2003:34-35) notes that Marxist theorists conceptualised power as the "capacity of powerful agents to realise their will over the will of powerless people, and the ability to force [the latter] to do things which they do not wish to do." The idea that power is controlled by a specific group of people implies that it is a "possession – something, which is held onto by those in power and which those who are powerless try to wrest from [the former's] control" (Mills, 2003:35). This view further presupposes that power is stable and those who have it continuously control it for their own good. More so, the classification of people into dichotomies of the 'powerful' and the 'powerless' suggests that power is only concerned with oppressing and constraining (Miller, 2003:33).[30]

[30] See for example Louise Althuser, (1984) in his work *Essays on Ideology*. John Lonsdale (2005) also discusses how Europeans have continued to view their relationship with Africans as that of victim and rescuer respectively. This idea demonstrates that power is only concerned with oppressing and constraining particular groups of people.

However, in his works especially *The History of Sexuality* (1978) and *Truth and Power* (1980b), Foucault, the twentieth century French philosopher, criticises the above views about power. He notes that power permeates all human relations in society, with one group working to snatch it from the other. Foucault postulates that power is like a game that can be won and lost depending on the context. Thus, it cannot stay in the hands of one individual or groups of individuals forever. With this regard, Foucault calls upon scholars to investigate the daily ways through which power is exercised, enacted and contested.[31] The following excerpt is extracted from Foucault's work on *Truth and Power* and can be used to summarise his claims on power as elucidated above. Foucault (1980:98) argues that:

> power must be analysed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain […] Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation […] Individuals are the vehicles [of] power, not its points of application.

Because of the tendency by those without power struggling to wrest (snatch) it from those who have it, Mills (2003: 40) argues that there is need to "consider the relationship between those in struggles over power not as simply reducible to a master-slave relation, or an oppressor-victim relationship", but one where the oppressed can be seen as people with agency and means to resist what those with power want them to do.[32]

In this study, I use Foucault's viewpoints on power to analyse the relationship between the nature of archival practices the Bagisu have adopted over different periods of time and how these are influenced by the power dynamics in society. Without a doubt, different times in the history of the Bagisu have signalled different power dimensions and these have affected the way the community has conceived, utilised and archived its music and dance. As Hamilton, Harris & Reid (2002:15) have also noted, "what constitutes the archive, what form it takes, and the systems of classification signal at different specific times [and places] are the very substance of the politics of the time." These ideas form a kind of model I use to investigate how the transfer of power from colonial masters into the hands of indigenous political leaders at independence affected the way archiving was done in Uganda, not only at national level, but also by local communities such as the Bagisu. Without a doubt, political power in Uganda has been shifting since independence and this has had an impact on

[31] While scholars like Hoy (1986:123) agree with the viewpoint that power is something that can be contested, his main question is how social scientists and philosophers have drawn on this analysis to understand the effect of the fluidity of power on society.
[32] Scott (1990) re-echoes these ideas in his discussion on the hidden and public transcripts.

the control of the archive and specifically the nature of knowledge produced through it. Further still, heightened activities of Pentecostal religious movements since early 2000s have brought about new power dynamics from the religious scene. These new power dynamics have also influenced the nature of archive adopted by the Bagisu in the contemporary period.

Generally, the mainstream (traditional) churches[33] do not have the type of power they yielded during the colonial period and about forty years after independence. Before this period, Christians did not have the liberty to openly attend ceremonies like funeral ritual dancing and continue being members of the church. Those who could subvert this arrangement were ex-communicated from the church. By using Foucault's insights from the works quoted above, I demonstrate how community members exploit the power struggles between what I would call mushrooming Pentecostal churches and mainstream churches to engage in such ritual performances like funeral dancing, a scenario that enables community members to showcase and transmit music and dance associated with such ceremonies.

While the question of uploading ritual music and dance on video-hosting sites like YouTube is discussed under the subsection on globalisation, it is important to mention that the use of technology has also led to other power struggles among the Bagisu. The role of elders and the various custodians of *imbalu* circumcision rituals is to regulate the performance of these rituals, including how the integrated musics and dances should be used. By drawing on Foucaut's (1980 & 1980b) ideas, I investigate how technology has been adopted by music kiosks owners in Mbale Town to adopt another archival practice which involves not only turning *imbalu* music and dance into commodities for sale, but also translates them into items that can be consumed by people from other parts of the world. This power dynamic helps me establish how the use of technology is a 'liberating' tool in a community where most decisions are made by elders. Among the questions to ask in this context include: What happens if ritual music and dance is circulated to audiences beyond the intended community? How do elders reassert their authority in this situation? I will return to some of these questions in Chapters Four, Five and Six. In the next sub-section, I examine how this study draws on the globalisation theory to analyse data.

[33] In Uganda, traditional or mainstream churches are the Roman Catholic Church and Anglican (Protestant) Church. In situations where someone may talk about mainstream religious denominations, reference is usually made to Roman Catholic, Anglican and Moslems.

1.7.4 Globalisation Theory

The study of archival practices for music and dance among contemporary Bagisu demanded investigations into processes of creation, performance, commodification and dissemination of these cultural objects. Moreover, this study necessitated an examination of the conditions under which community members create, collect, showcase, catalogue, 'preserve' and manage their music and dance. As such, I found it necessary, not only to engage with postcolonial discourses, but also the globalisation theory. Globalisation has been generally defined as the transnational interaction of worldviews, goods, services and cultural forms and how these processes are enhanced. These interactions or interrelationships have been greatly fostered by advancement in transport systems and telecommunications which have resulted into circulation of ideas, encouragement of trade and exchange of goods and services across international boundaries. To underscore the view that the interchange of ideas, goods, services, music, dance and other cultural elements occurs under complex processes, scholars including Turino (2003:51) argue that we should look at globalisation as multidimensional. This idea is also raised by Santos (2002:1) when he writes that globalisation is a "non-linear process marked by contrasting yet parallel discourses and varying levels of intensity." To this end, one can talk of 'globalisations', to refer to the multi-layered processes through which socio-economic, political, technological and cultural elements interact.[34]

Employing the concept of globalisation in his work on glocalisation of Catholicism in Uganda, Ssempijja (2011:5) argues that the discourse around globalisation has led to the emergence of other terms like "McDonaldisation, CocaColonisation and Disneyisation […] [which are significant in enhancing an understanding of the] global flow of goods, services, and cultures from the west into the rest of the world".[35] These new concepts point to the great influence USA has had on cultures outside the confines of its boundaries, to the extent of influencing consumption patterns elsewhere. While some scholars use the globalisation theory independent of the postcolonial theory, Ashcroft (1995) argues that these two theories are interlinked. To her, the "globalisation discourse has been overwhelmingly influenced by

[34] Although Waterman and Barber (1995) discuss how local communities also find ways of domesticating foreign forms of culture (see also Solomon, 2015:338; Giddens, 1994: 56), my discussions on the notion of hybridity (which is presented later under this section) show how the power relations as played out by different societies as they interact with one another, make 'dominant' societies to lend cultural elements to those considered to be of 'low' status.

[35] See also Ssempijja, (2012b).

postcolonial terminology" (Ashcroft, 1995:6). Indeed, it is inevitable to investigate issues of global power (in terms of economic, cultural and political power) without linking them to legacies of western imperialism. The other aspect relates to how the postcolonial approach can facilitate an understanding of how local communities achieve agency under what Ashcroft (1995:7) calls the "pressure of global hegemony".[36]

I have already mentioned how this study draws on the globalisation theory to analyse how the impact of global flow of technology has influenced consumption patterns of *imbalu* music and dance, especially in Mbale Town. To this, I demonstrate how the use of computers and related technologies have enabled owners of music kiosks to collect, process, commodify and circulate *imbalu* music and dance, not only to town dwellers, but also users in other parts of the world. Despite elders having power to regulate who accesses and consumes *imbalu* ritual music and dance among the Bagisu, I demonstrate how the availability of western technology has influenced music kiosk owners to subvert this power and circulate *imbalu* music and dance beyond the confines of the Bagisu.

One of the concepts that usually crops up in discussions on globalisation is hybridity. Robert Young (2005:5) observes that the term 'hybrid' was originally used in biological and botanical sciences, but has also been adopted by social science scholars to explain how the "crossing of people of different [cultures]" has culminated into a situation where we can no longer describe any society as 'pure'.[37] In his theoretical insights on the notion of diaspora, Solomon (2015: 338) notes that the concept of hybridity is sometimes evoked in debates on diaspora and is usually juxtaposed with terms like creolisation, indigenisation, localisation, glocalisation, (de)reterritorialization as well as domestication to "describe the transnational conditions of culture" during the contemporary period).[38]

He also adds that the use of the term hybridity in ethnomusicology presupposes "global flows of music and the emergence of a new aesthetics based on blending different styles together and emplacing them in specific social settings and localities" (Solomon 2015:338).[39] As a result of the borrowing and lending of different aspects of culture during the interaction of people, goods and services, there are also complex power struggles that are

[36] See also Krishnaswamy, (2002).
[37] See also discussions on authenticity later in this subsection.
[38] Coombes & Brah, (2000:1), also provide a brief background to the term hybridity, noting that it is mainly used in studies related to cultural criticism, postcolonial studies, debates about contestation and appropriation. These scholars relate the notion of hybridity to concepts like border, cosmopolitan and cultural syncretism.
[39] See also Ulf Hannerz, (1987).

played out, which should be taken into account in the course of using this concept. Coombes & Brah (2000:1) underscore the above point when they urge scholars to always "subject the process of hybridisation […] to critical scrutiny and […] take account of the multiple uses and meanings of the term depending upon the configuration of social, cultural and political practices within which it is embedded at any given time."[40]In this study, I have used the term hybridity to understand the question of authenticity, a concept, which Moore (2002:209) uses interchangeably with "real", "honest", "truthful", "with integrity", "actual", "genuine", "essential" and "sincere".

Considering that there is global diffusion of cultures through use of technologies such as internet, what do the Bagisu archive? Is it possible to 'preserve' and 'keep' cultural materials like music and dance 'intact' under such conditions? These are some of the questions which have necessitated drawing on the notion of hybridity to seek their answers. Moore (2002) also looks at authenticity as something that is "ascribed, not inscribed".[41] This view implies that members of a specific community only create something 'authentic' so as to concretise their identity. For example, it is common for a group of people to regard itself as 'authentic' as a way of showing that its identity is distinct, not similar to other people. Drawing on the notion of hybridity, I discuss how the Bagisu do not archive their music and dance to make it 'pure' but are engaged in processes to safeguard the changes and continuities in these cultural elements for the purpose of maintaining their collective identity. In the following section, I provide a recapitulation on the major terms used in this dissertation.

1.8 Definition of Major Terms Used in the Dissertation

The following terms are at the centre of the discussions I present in this dissertation. Although they may be used differently in other writings, below are the meanings they denote in this study.

Accessibility

The term accessibility is used in this study to denote the effort by those in charge of archives to ensure that archival items are made available, used and can make meaning to

[40] Edward O. Henry, (1989:67) also discusses this issue.
[41] See also Peterson, (1997), Peterson & Bennet, (2004).

those who want them. I use this concept in three ways, namely: 1) to discuss the need to provide adequate documentation to archival material so that end-users can understand them; 2) opening doors to the archive so that people can make use of the materials housed there and 3) adopting formats that can enable people use the repatriated material. This latter idea is informed by the fact that technology keeps changing and therefore scholars involved in music repatriation projects need to present repatriated items in formats that facilitate easy access to such material (Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub, 2012).

Archive

In a more literal way, I use the term archive to denote the following meanings. Firstly, an archive refers to a place/building where material of enduring value is kept for use by future generations (Mbembe, 2002:19; Agawu, 2003:24). This definition is mainly used when I make reference to the Makerere University Klaus Wachsmann Audio-visual Archive (MAKWAA). Besides using the concept of the archive to refer to a building, I also use it to denote material that public or private institutions collect and keep, with the aim of making it available to other people in future. In this case, the notion of the archive is used to refer to items kept by institutions like MAKWAA as well as collections of musics and dances that some Bagisu in Bududa District and Mbale Town keep in their homes. In situations where I distinguish between 'archive as place' from 'archive as material', I use the term 'archival institution' ('repository') to refer to the former and 'archival material' to denote the latter.

To a greater extent, my use of the notion of archive is in a metaphorical way. Drawing on Muller's (2002:409) theoretical insights that scholars need to rethink an archive as a "site of safeguarding in oral and literate cultures", I use the term archive to denote any social event during which the community retrieves, assembles, showcases and transmits material of value. This view is also advanced by Taylor (2003: viii) when she discusses "embodied performances as sites of conserving memory and consolidating identities." As social events among the Bagisu are integrated with music and dance, the materials retrieved, assembled, showcased and transmitted are usually music and dance. Related to social events are places set aside by the community for ritual performances. I regard these places (which manifest themselves in form of confluences of rivers, grooves where people go to worship gods as well as thickets) as archives. I have argued that the safeguarding of such places like grooves or playgrounds is tantamount to preserving the musics and dances performed there.

Moreover, when I regard music kiosks as spaces for collecting, processing, commodifying, storing and circulating music and dance, my discussions are informed by the understanding that an archive is a centre for keeping and disseminating material. Finally, the notion of archive is used in this dissertation to denote musicians, especially as regards the role they play in Bududa District and Mbale Town. I argue that by the fact that they collect materials for their compositions, make music and perform it during several social events; musicians have acted as archives of music in this community. In this sense, we see the marker of the archive also becoming the archive itself.

More-inclusive Postcolonial Archive

I have used the notion of a more-inclusive postcolonial archive to denote an archival practice that should be embraced to address the fundamental issues arising from preservation of music and dance among contemporary Bagisu. I use this term to discuss the characteristic features of an archive that results from the collaboration between different stakeholders involved in archiving Kigisu music and dance. As I argue, understanding the nature of material collected for the archive, how it should be accessed and the complexities on copyright and ethics, are significant in the establishment of a more-inclusive postcolonial archive among the Bagisu. This type of archive serves the needs of community members, cultural leaders, archival institutions and musicians, among other stakeholders.

Archiving

The term archiving refers to the process of collecting, documenting, cataloguing, preserving, showcasing (assembling), managing and disseminating material of enduring value so that future generations can access and make use of it. I have underscored the view that the process of archiving is not complete unless the material is accessed and used by the people who need it. As I argue, different people have different approaches they use to collect, document, preserve, showcase, manage and disseminate the cultural objects (including music and dance) in their communities. The ways of archiving material are influenced by the living conditions (context) of the people.

Archival Process

Archival process in this dissertation denotes the procedures materials collected for archiving undergo before they can reach the ultimate users. This process involves collection, documentation, cataloguing, preservation, presentation, and dissemination of material to those who want to use it. In some cases, I use the notion of archival process and archiving interchangeably.

Archival approach/ practice

The technique of collecting, processing, documenting, cataloguing, preserving, managing and disseminating cultural material of a given community is what I have referred to as an archival approach. By using the notion of archival approach/practice, I argue that different communities use different approaches to archive their music and dance. These approaches are informed by the context of the people. In this case, communities in urban and rural areas adopt practices that resonate with their respective settings.

Indigenous Archival Practices

I use the notion of 'indigenous' archival practices to refer to the approaches people of a particular community adopt to archive their music and dance. These practices are a result of what I call 'people's own machinations', denoting the fact that people come up with their own means to ensure that their musics and dances are 'captured' so that they are safeguarded to cater for the needs of future generations. As the case of the Bagisu has shown, there are several indigenous practices for archiving music and dance even among people of the same ethnic background. Thus, archiving through social events, activities of local musicians and music kiosks in Mbale Town are all indigenous archival practices among the Bagisu.

Colonial Archival Practices

I use the concept of colonial archival practices to refer to a system involving collecting material and taking it to a recognised centre for custody. This form of archiving is associated with the following characteristic features; 1) a tendency to decide and collect material culture, sometimes without consulting community members; 2) in most cases, this material is not accessed by people from whom it was collected and; 3) institutions where the items are kept decide how such material should be used even when members of the community may not approve of such ways of using these items.

To illustrate my discussions on colonial archival practices among the Bagisu during the twenty-first century, I use the example of fieldworkers (music collectors) and how they have continued to go to this community and collect musical (and dance) materials for custody elsewhere. I have also drawn on the practice by some community members to collect and keep music and dance in their homes. While I have categorised music kiosks in Mbale Town under indigenous approaches to archiving music and dance, their activities also qualify them to be regarded as a colonial archival practice. For example, the tendency by people involved in these businesses to upload *imbalu* circumcision music and dance on video-hosting sites like YouTube stands as a colonial mentality. In this case, accessibility to western technologies can be described as a condition that has continued to perpetuate colonial archiving since it is mainly those who have access to technologies like computers and internet who determine how cultural materials of particular communities should be represented and consumed.

Informal Archiving

The notion of informal archiving is used in this dissertation to denote tendencies where people gather and store material unconsciously. This practice involves a situation where someone may make music recordings by use of his/her mobile telephone, download them on a computer and create a file folder to keep such information. The end result is an accumulation of material which might be beyond what the person had intended initially. Informal archiving can also be done through the unconscious activities of local musicians who pick on topical issues, compose songs and circulate them throughout their communities during beer parties and other contexts where they perform the music.

Formal Archiving

Unlike informal archiving which is a result of unconscious activities of people as they go about collecting and accumulating material for personal use, formal archiving refers to situations where people consciously collect, document, catalogue and preserve material for future use. In other words, I argue that in formal archiving, there are laid down procedures and policies on how material is captured, kept and made available to other people in future.

Maintaining Cultural Sites

I use the term ‘maintaining’ in a literal way to denote the act of making something available at all times so that other people can access and use it. I have used this term in

discussions where I refer to what I have called Cultural Sites (CS), the places that people in Bududa District have preserved to act as centres for performing rituals like circumcision. To this end, by keeping (maintaining) places like Namasho where the descendants of Lutseshe go to perform *imbalu* rituals, the community implicitly archives the performances staged there.

Living Archives

I have used the notion of living archives to stress the view that different communities around the world have always had different means of preserving music and dance and such approaches are influenced by the context of the people. In relation to the present study, the archiving of music and dance among the Bagisu is not something that was initiated by colonial agents. Archiving of these materials has always taken place through staging of rituals, maintenance of cultural sites and the activities of local musicians. As such, to argue that a community is a living archive is to underscore the fact that it has always kept and made its music and dance available to those people who are supposed to access and use it.

Performing the Archive

The idea of performing the archive is used by Thram and Carvey (2011:87) and Thram (2015:71) to describe the various activities an archival institution can engage in. As these scholars observe, one can perform the archive by taking the materials back to communities through repatriations as well as using archival items in publications for teaching in schools. This concept also refers to activities intended to raise funds for the archive. In spite of sometimes using the notion of 'performing the archive' interchangeably with archiving and archival approach/practice, I draw on the ideas advanced by Thram and Carvey to use this concept to denote 1) collecting material for custody and; 2) ensuring that the material is accessed by end-users. As I also argue, performing the archive in a 'sustainable' way demands that one blurs the boundaries that deter other stakeholders from participating in an archival project.

Contemporary Society

Generally, the term contemporary is used to describe 'modern', 'current' or the 'present' situation. The statement that all "art is of its moment and of its time" (Smith, 2009:1) underscores the fact that a piece of art (music, dance, sculpture and literature) can be classified as contemporary if it is associated with current times. In this study, I use the word

contemporary interchangeably with twenty-first century (see also Huq, 2006:1). This concept is used to refer to the period starting from the year 2000 to discuss the socio-cultural, economic and technological conditions that have affected people's lives during the twenty-first century.

To highlight the changes in human conditions that have engulfed different communities around the world, Wilson & Dissanayake (1999:1) observe that there is an "interface of global forces, images, codes, sites, genres and technologies of transnationalisation [which] challenges [those belonging to local communities] in the production of locality, local subjects, national situations, and the making of everyday space and public spheres". Hence, I use this term to point out that the Bagisu of the twenty-first century have had their lives affected by global forces and as a result, have picked on cultural practices from other parts of the world and incorporated them in their day-today activities.

Preservation

I use the term 'preservation' interchangeably with 'safeguarding' and 'archiving' to refer to a situation where a person or group of people 'protect' something so that it can be available and accessed in future. As I discuss, the mode or means through which community members preserve or safeguard cultural materials including music and dance is influenced by the socio-cultural, economic and technological conditions of the place. In using this concept, I am aware of debates surrounding the notion of authenticity especially under conditions of globalisation as I have already pointed out. When Fargion (2012:50) argues that people "no longer do ethnomusicology to 'preserve' music, to keep it safe from extinction", her intention is to point out that preservation should be understood in terms of safeguarding cultures with the aim of facilitating the continuation of music traditions. In fact, music and dance are not 'preserved' since they keep changing; communities only preserve the changes and continuities of these materials due to the crucial role they play in articulating the collective identities of community members.

Sustainability

The term sustainability is used to denote a condition where the needs of the people engaged in a particular project are catered for. I use this term to argue that archives need to serve the needs of different stakeholders, those people involved in archiving the material culture of a given community. By proposing a more-inclusive postcolonial archive, I present

it as a site where musicians, community members and their leaders, among other people, can interact to serve the needs of present and future users of the archive. In other words, the concept of sustainability is used in this dissertation to concretise the argument that contemporary archival institutions need not exclude certain players from their activities; archives should be created to serve people of different categories if they are to stay relevant for posterity.

1.9 Dissertation Layout

This dissertation is presented in seven chapters. Chapter One introduces the study. I share my experiences in archiving, pointing out how I chose to study and develop a career in archiving music and dance and how previous experiences motivated the conducting of this study. I also state the problem the study seeks to investigate, articulate the main research question, specific research questions and the contributions of the study to a variety of people and institutions – ranging from scholars, cultural policy makers to archival institutions and international bodies. In addition to the above issues, Chapter One presents the review of the scholarly works in the field of archiving music and dance and the theoretical discussions informing the analysis and presentation of this data.

In Chapter Two, I discuss the research methodology for this study. Besides delineating the scope of the study in terms of geographical area and content, this chapter presents the research design, the different sampling techniques used to select people who participated in this study and the tools used to collect data. The chapter also highlights the techniques used to collect data from community members who are not normally mandated to speak on behalf of society. I also discuss how I negotiated the different identities during fieldwork and the challenges that I faced while conducting this study. Besides, I discuss how I dealt with ethical issues since this study involved working with different categories of people in order to understand the archival practices adopted by the Bagisu to safeguard their music and dance. The final section of Chapter Two is about the approaches I adopted to analyse the data presented in this dissertation.

In Chapter Three, I address the question of how music and dance among the Bagisu has been preserved from the precolonial period to the time I conducted this study. In this chapter, I identify the different stakeholders involved in archiving music and dance among the Bagisu, the kind of approaches they use to archive it and the shortcomings associated with

some of the approaches. As a way of illuminating the nature of approaches that different stakeholders have used to archive music and dance among the Bagisu, this Chapter includes a section on how the idea of keeping music and dance through recordings became a significant mode of preserving music and dance among the Bagisu during the colonial period. Because there was no central place for collecting, documenting, cataloguing and managing the musical and dance heritage of Uganda prior to the establishment of MAKWAA, this Chapter also includes a section on the discussion of MAKWAA. I specifically examine how early collectors including Klaus Wachsmann and Peter Cooke made recordings in Uganda, including collecting music and dance among the Bagisu. I also discuss how MAKWAA has continued to collect, document, catalogue, preserve and disseminate Kigisu music and dance during the contemporary period. My discussions on MAKWAA are informed by the need to establish a point of departure for presentations in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

Chapter Four summarises the practices adopted by the Bagisu in Bududa District to archive their music and dance. This Chapter opens with a contextual background of the Bagisu in Bududa before discussing how they conceptualise the archive, archivist and archiving. It also identifies the main archives performed by members of this community. By drawing on ritual performances and the activities of local musicians and what people do in their private homes, I demonstrate that the Bagisu in Bududa District archive music and dance through two ways, namely: 1) communally and 2) as private individuals. In this Chapter, I point out that communal archives manifest themselves in form of social events, which are captured through the activities of custodians of ritual performances as well as maintenance of Cultural Cites (CSs). I have used the case of Namasho CS to discuss how the preservation of a physical place translates into the archiving of the rituals as well as the musics and dances performed there. Besides, the Chapter also discusses the role of local musicians and private collectors in archiving music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa District.

As a study that was motivated by the need to understand how the Bagisu perform the archive in the different contexts they live, Chapter Five presents the investigation of the archival practices for Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. I demonstrate how Mbale Town acts as a centre for the urban Bagisu to collect and process *imbalu* circumcision music and dance before repackaging (commodifying) it for sale to other town dwellers. In this Chapter, I discuss the role of Music Kiosks (MKs) to show how they act as spaces for collecting, processing, repackaging and circulating *imbalu* circumcision music and dance

around Mbale Town. I also examine how local musicians have provided material for commercial purposes and how their musical materials are also processed, packaged and disseminated around the town through music kiosks. As this Chapter demonstrates, the nature of activities of MKs in collecting, processing, repackaging and transmitting Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town makes the archive of these materials in this setting to manifest itself in form of a commercial entity. People who access and make use of material housed in this archive are those who have money to purchase the CDs, DVDs and other media on which music and dance materials are inscribed. This archive is also used by people who have access to internet since some of its material is uploaded on video-hosting sites like YouTube.

In Chapter Six, I discuss what I have regarded as a 'more-inclusive postcolonial' archive. I present the more-inclusive postcolonial archive as a space that brings together the different people engaged in archiving music and dance of a community and an archival practice that takes into consideration the needs and aspirations of the different stakeholders engaged in an archival project. By exploring the fundamental issues related to archiving music and dance during the twenty-first century, this Chapter demonstrates how musicians, dancers, community members, the business community, cultural leaders, archivists and fieldworkers (music collectors), among other stakeholders, can use the more-inclusive postcolonial archive as a site to understand the nature of materials to be collected for archives. I also discuss how this type of archive can become a platform where material can be accessed by people who need it as well as mitigate copyright and ethics, some of the fundamental issues, contemporary archives grapple with.

Chapter Seven summarises, concludes and makes recommendations for future research in this area. I outline the outcome of the study, besides making conclusions and identifying the gaps that need to be addressed through conducting more research in future. In the chapter that follows, I examine the methodology that was adopted to gather data for this study.

Chapter Two

Research Methodology

2.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, I address the methodological issues relating to the collection, analysis, interpretation and presentation of data. I discuss the research process, illuminating the preparations for fieldwork, areas where research was conducted, the data collection phase and the diverse activities that guided the analysis of data. To enhance a coherent flow of these issues, I have organised the Chapter in five sections. The first section is a discussion on the scope of the study both in terms of geographical area and content. By discussing the geographical scope of this study, I justify why research was limited to particular parts of Bugisu and not the entire sub-region.[42] Likewise, I delineate my scope in terms of content considered since there are certainly many ways scholars, particularly ethnomusicologists, can approach the area of archiving.

The second section of this Chapter is about the different sampling techniques used to reach the target population. The third section is a discussion on the research design and methods (tools) used to gather data. Not only does this section discuss how the study used an ethnographic approach to gather people's views and experiences, it also demonstrates how I gathered views of what I have regarded as 'silent' voices, people who are not normally mandated to speak on behalf of society. The section also discusses the various tools used to gather data during fieldwork. In section four, I address questions of identity negotiation, ethical issues and the constraints encountered during the process of collecting data. The last section is about the approaches adopted for data analysis before making conclusion remarks. To enable the readers to understand the areas I concentrated for fieldwork, why they were

[42] Uganda is composed of four main regions – eastern, western, northern and central. When the ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM) government intensified the campaign of taking 'services' nearer to the people through sub-dividing old administrative units into smaller ones since early 2000s, the idea of sub-regions has cropped up. These sub-regions normally take on the names of the dominant ethnic group in a specific geographical area. It is common to find Local Government (LG) officials and politicians using such terms like Acholi sub-region, Lango sub-region, Bunyoro sub-region or Bugisu sub-region to refer to a number of districts occupied by the Acholi, Lango, Banyoro or Bagisu respectively. In this dissertation, I sometimes use the catch phrase Bugisu sub-region to refer to Mbale, Sironko, Manafwa, Bududa and Bulambuli, the districts found in Bugisu sub-region during the time I conducted this study.

chosen and the major themes this study has covered, the following section addresses the scope of the study.

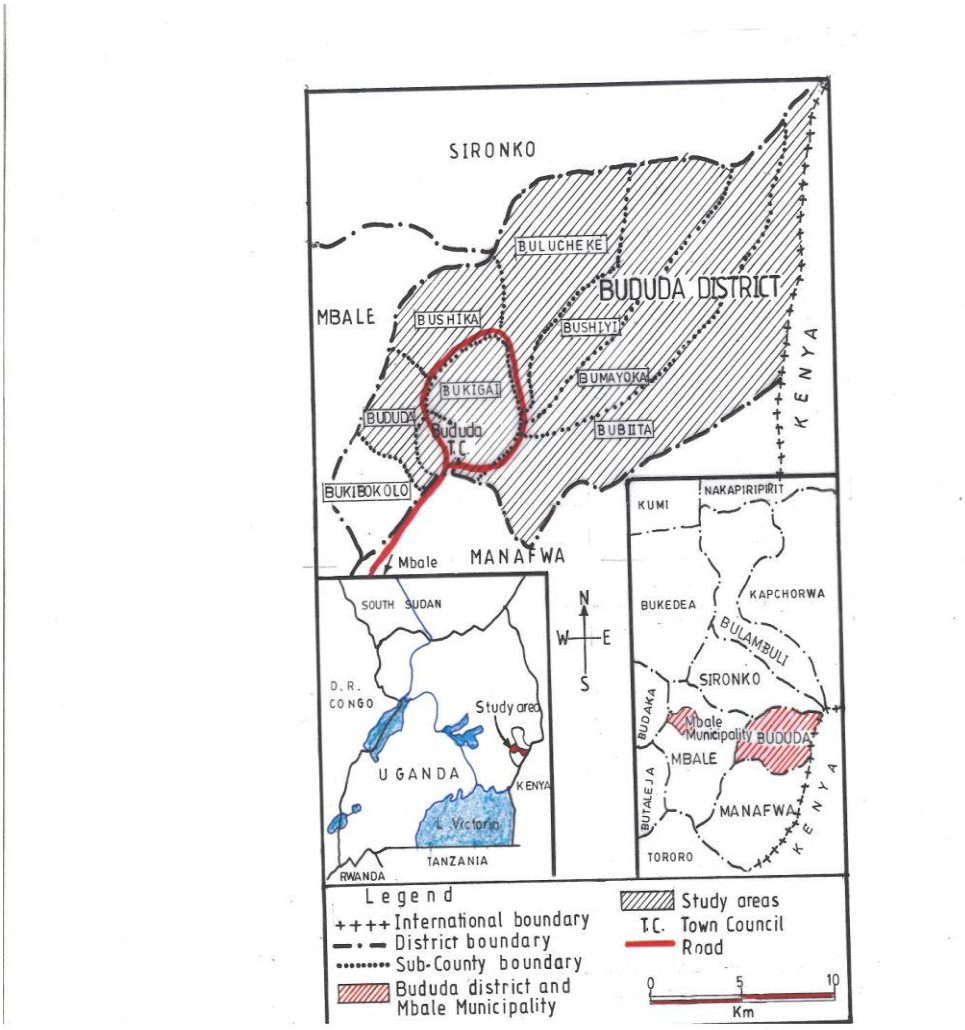
2.2 Scope of the Study

2.2.1 Geographical

The Bagisu people live in an extensive geographical area covering five districts – Mbale, Sironko, Manafwa, Bududa and Bulambuli – in eastern Uganda. It was therefore necessary to carefully map out certain geographical zones for conducting fieldwork. This technique served the dual purpose of focusing the study within the time limitations of a PhD dissertation as well as creating the opportunity for more in-depth engagements with the people from whom I gathered data. The areas selected for research were Bududa District and Mbale Town (see maps in Figures I and II, respectively). Bududa District consists of fourteen sub-counties,[43] which are under the management of Bududa District Local Government (BDLG). Within Bududa District, I conducted fieldwork in the sub-counties of Bulucheke, Nakatsi, Bushika, Bumayoka, Bushiyi and Bududa Town Council (BTC) as shown on the map in Figure I.

[43] By the time of conduting this study, Bududa District was composed of the Sub-counties of Bududa, Bumasheti, Bukibokolo, Bukigai, Nabweya, Bushiribo, Bushika, Nakatsi, Bulucheke, Bushiyi, Bumayoka, Bubiita, Bukalasi and Nalwanza.

Figure I: Map of Bududa District showing Areas where Fieldwork was Conducted[44]



I was born and raised in Bulucheke Sub-County and speak Lubuuya, a Lugisu dialect.[45] This dialect is mainly spoken by the Bagisu living in the southern parts of Bugisu, including Bududa. The fact that I could understand the local dialect gave two distinct advantages – negating the need for a translator and facilitating the interviewing process

[44] Map drawn by George William Magawa, the cartographer of Makerere University, on behalf of the researcher.

[45] Lugisu (Lumasaaba) is the language of the Bagisu people and is composed of several dialects. While Lubuuya is a dialect for the Bagisu living in the southern parts of Bugisu (including Bududa District), Ludadiri is a Lugisu dialect for the Bagisu living in the northern parts of Bugisu (mainly Sironko and Bulambuli districts). The Lugisu dialect spoken by the Bagisu living in the central parts of Bugisu may be classified as *Lulungokho*. Those living in Mbale Town are influenced by other languages (Luganda, Lusoga, Lunyoli, Lusamia, Lugwere and many others). Lastly, there are those Bagisu who live near the border with Kenya and their dialect is a mixture of Lugisu and Lubukusu (the latter spoken by the Bakusu of western Kenya). The Bakusu are believed to have been separated from the Bagisu during the last half of the nineteenth century, a period that saw colonisation of Africa and the demarcation of what have now come to be regarded as 'international' boundaries (see also Khamalwa, 2004).

(Spradley, 1979:20). In addition, understanding the local language also allows the researcher to comprehend the activities observed, which eventually eases participation. Spradley (1979:22) underscores the view that "every ethnographic description is a translation." This assertion implies that whatever data is garnered through an ethnographic writing is an interpretation of the scholar. More so, the final report may not be presented in a local language, suggesting that understanding a local language may not be enough in the study such as the current one. However, Spradley (1979:18) also goes ahead to implore those ethnographers coming from outside the community where they conduct fieldwork to learn the language of the people whose culture they research on. As he puts it, learning the local language enables ethnographers to describe a culture in "its own terms", especially since one is able to pick on local concepts and apply them in his/her final report.

As such, by choosing Bududa, I was cognisant of the fact that I would freely speak and interact with people in a language they fully and easily understand. Without doubt, in Bududa, the interviews for this study were conducted in the *Lubuuya* dialect. More so, while growing up in Bududa, I witnessed and participated in some of the activities that form the musical heritage of the Bagisu. From singing and dancing during *imbalu* circumcision rituals, being circumcised myself as a means of initiating me into manhood[46] to listening to folktales as they were being told to me by my grandmother, grandfather, mother, father, aunties and uncles, issues relating to the music and dances of the Bagisu were part and parcel of my life as I grew up. I was sure that it will not only be easy to participate in the music-making sessions of these activities, but also access the dances performed there. However, I am also aware of the dangers inherent in over-familiarity, which could lead the researcher not to notice certain issues, or not to view some of the issues as important because to him/or her, it is 'how it has always been'. This latter idea is discussed in more details under section 2.5.

In addition to the benefit of familiarity with the language and culture of the research participants, working in Bududa District enabled me contact the people I knew could help me gather data for this study. In other words, I had established contacts in Bududa through my earlier fieldwork engagements with the people of this area. My fieldwork in this community goes back to 2004. As an undergraduate student at Makerere University in 2004, I studied the role of music and dance in *imbalu* circumcision rituals. Moreover, my M.A. (Music)

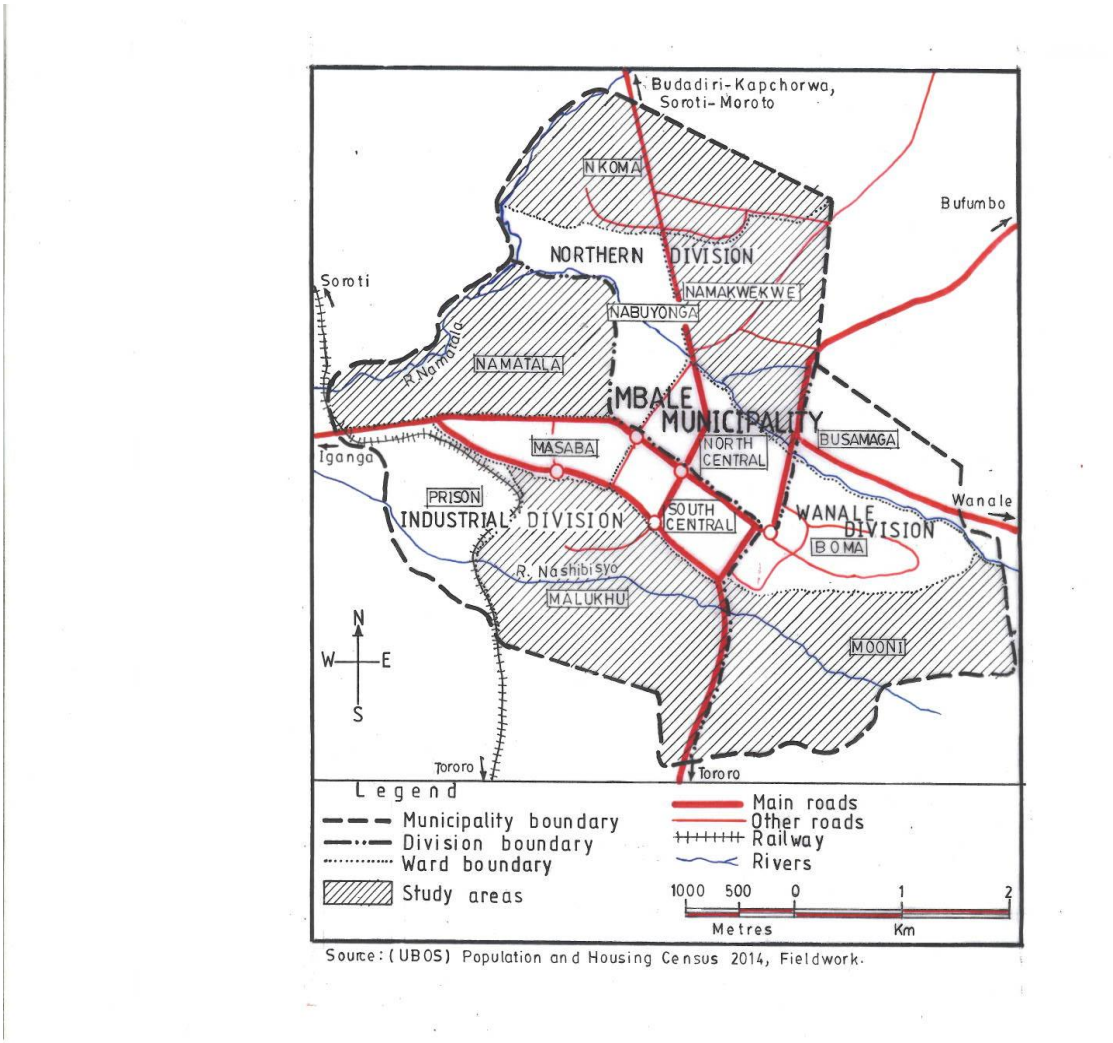
[46] It is important to note that different societies adopt different ways to initiate young people into adulthood. Although it has attracted heated debates, some cultures carry out Female Genital Mutilation as a form of initiation into adulthood.

Programme, spanning the period between 2007 and 2009, involved the study of musicking and dancing *imbalu* rituals. I also worked in Bududa District when I collected, documented and repatriated the music and dances of the Bagisu people for and on behalf of MAKWAA between 2010 and 2012 as an Archivist intern. During my earlier research encounters, I was able to interact with *imbalu* ritual executors, organise music-making sessions with individual and group musicians, witness music performed at beer parties and marriage ceremonies and listen and participate in story-telling sessions with children and adults. These studies inspired me consider Bududa District as a site where I could return for an in-depth examination of the approaches used by this community to archive music and dance. Some of the activities I had engaged in earlier were the very activities I also investigated in-depth for the present study. This saved a lot of time, and also circumnavigated the complexities that surround trust with new research participants.

In order to give a broader understanding of the approaches the Bagisu have adopted to archive their musics and dances, I found it necessary to conduct this study in two different contexts – a rural setting and its urban counterpart. I have discussed in Chapter Four that the availability of abundant land has enabled the Bagisu in Bududa District to engage in subsistence farming. More so, unlike those living in Mbale Town whose settlement is not influenced by lineage connections, people in Bududa District mainly live in accordance to their lineages. Those who trace origin to common ancestors usually live together. Lastly, although they may not resist external change as Romero (1990:1) has noted in relation to Peru, the extent to which external influences have permeated the social fabric of the Bagisu in Bududa is not as pronounced as it has affected those living in Mbale Town. As such, I have classified Bududa District as a rural area. On the contrary, considering their lifestyle as town dwellers,[47] I have classified Mbale Town as an urban context. Consequently, to enhance my comparisons of the archival practices in the two distinct social milieus, I also selected Mbale Town as my study area. In Mbale Town, I concentrated my research activities in the suburbs of Namatala, Nkoma, Mooni, Namakwekwe, Malukhu and the Town centre. The other place I conducted fieldwork was Bumutoto Cultural Grounds (BCG), located about 4KM from Mbale Town in Bungokho- Bumutoto Sub-County. Figure II is a map showing some of the areas I concentrated for fieldwork in Mbale Town.

[47] See Chapter Five for more discussions on the context of the Bagisu in Mbale Town.

Figure II: Map of Mbale Town showing Areas where Fieldwork was Conducted



How the Bagisu in Mbale Town archive their music and dance amidst influences from other communities was among the factors that motivated me to choose this town as a site for fieldwork. Needless to say, much as Mbale Town is politically regarded as part of Bugisu (indeed 'owned' by the Bagisu people), it is a cosmopolitan area. In this town are people of diverse nationalities – Ugandans, Kenyans, Tanzanians, Somalis, South Sudanese, Congolese, Ethiopians, Rwandese, Pakistanis, Israelis, Indians and Lebanese, among others. In addition to these nationalities, there are people from other parts of Uganda living in Mbale Town, including the Baganda, Basoga, Bagwere, Basamia, Acholi, Karamajong, just to mention a few. Moreover, besides doing private businesses, some of the foreign citizens in Mbale Town are employed by both the government and private organisations. Apart from speaking English, these people speak different languages of the cultures they hail from. Indeed, this language factor further contributes to the 'cosmopolitan' nature of Mbale Town.

The fact that there are people of diverse backgrounds in Mbale Town adds weight to Spradley's (1979:20) observation that "multi-cultural societies" create a scenario that leads to the emergence of "subcultures" within the same community. As such, these diverse communities living in Mbale Town enhanced my selection of this town for my study so as to understand how the practices of these different people influence the Bagisu in archiving their music and dance.

Choosing Mbale was also motivated by the various contacts I had already established in this town. I was not only expecting to share the experiences and views of my initial contacts, but also use my earlier contacts to connect me to their colleagues whom I had not known prior to embarking on this study. Some of my contacts in Mbale were teachers at Elgon Nursery/ Primary school and popular musicians. In addition, I had close connections with members of *Inzu ye Masaaba* (IM) (Bamasaaba Cultural Institution). These contacts were forged during my previous studies. Through the relationships I had established with the above people,[48] I was able to meet music kiosk owners (people who had set up one or two computers from which they downloaded songs, processed and burnt them unto CDs and DVDs for sale)[49] to share views on my study.

Furthermore, *imbalu* rituals and their associated music and dance are among the items analysed for this study.[50] In addition to other places where *imbalu* is performed, these rituals are officially launched at BCG, a site near Mbale Town. Located in Bungokho-Bumutoto Sub-County, about four kilometres from the town centre, BCG brings together *imbalu* candidates, elders and musicians who come to participate in *imbalu* inauguration activities. This place can also be regarded as an 'assembling point' where musics, dances and other *imbalu* regalia from different parts of Bugisu are displayed during these inauguration ceremonies. As such, the need and ability to access BCG, experience *imbalu* music and dances performed there and meet ritual elders and musicians influenced my choice of Mbale Town as a study area.

Lastly, like Bududa, the language factor motivated me to choose Mbale Town as one of the areas to conduct fieldwork. Despite Mbale Town being a cosmopolitan centre, it is

[48] In 2006, I worked at Elgon Nursery/Primary School as an administrator and teacher and kept in touch with the staff of this school despite leaving it for further studies. While conducting this study, staff members of Elgon Nursery/Primary School played a crucial role in connecting me to those people who had significant information but I did not know them (see also discussion on sampling techniques under section 2.3).

[49] A more detailed discussion on music kiosks is provided under section 5.3 in Chapter Five.

[50] As I demonstrate in Chapter Four, other aspects of Kigisu music and dances considered for this study include funeral ritual music and dance as well as songs performed by local musicians.

predominantly inhabited by the Bagisu. This implies that Lugisu (despite being influenced by other languages like Luganda, Lusoga, Lugwere, lunyoli and Lusamia) is among the common languages that the town dwellers speak. As someone who speaks Lugisu (even the *Lulungokho* dialect which is predominantly spoken in this area), it became apparent that I would be able to communicate with my research participants without difficulty. Besides Lugisu, as a cosmopolitan place, there are several languages spoken in this town and I can speak at least three of these: Lugisu, Luganda and English. Aware of the fact that I could speak the above languages, motivated me to consider Mbale Town as a study site. In cases where some people, especially those operating music kiosks could neither speak Lugisu nor Luganda but English, it was an assurance that I would easily communicate with them and therefore gather the necessary data for my study.

2.2.2 Content

The study of archival practices can be approached from a variety of vantage points depending on the field of orientation of the scholar – from political science to history; anthropology to cultural studies, folklore, literary studies and religion to library science. As an example, one can study archiving in terms of how the materials are arranged in archives or investigate the policies that deal with collection, accessibility and management of items for the archive. Moreover, scholarly work in this area can concentrate on comparisons between archival institutions and other conservation centres including museums and libraries to establish how each of them performs its functions and how their mandates overlap. In terms of archiving music and dance among the Bagisu, one can investigate the role of Radio and TV stations, especially those found in this sub-region, towards the collection, documentation, preservation and dissemination of these materials. There is also the question of cultural institutions including *Bukhungu bwe Baduda Bukusu* and *Inzu ye Masaaba* towards the archiving of music and dance in this community. Finally, ethnomusicologists interested in the area of archiving can study how the gender factor impacts on the way the Bagisu archive music and dance. The list is endless.

The time factor could not enhance an investigation of all the above issues for this dissertation. As an ethnomusicological study, my topic has been delineated to focus on the nature of music and dance the Bagisu in Bududa District and those living in Mbale Town perform and how such musics and dances are archived by these people. I explore the various ways the Bagisu understand the notion of the archive, archiving and the archivist and how

they have archived their music and dance through history. I demonstrate how they archive these materials amidst the socio-economic, religious, political and technological pressures of the contemporary period. I also investigate the manner in which issues of globalisation have led to cultural flows as facilitated by technological advancement, particularly the internet. In this regard, my task was to examine how the Bagisu – especially those in settings like Mbale Town – have become part of the global village by embracing archival practices developed for certain places and moulding them to suit their own situations. By investigating how the Bagisu in Bududa District and Mbale Town archive their music and dance, I was motivated by the need to establish an archival model that harnesses the advantages and discards the limitations of the different archival approaches prevalent among the Bagisu. In the following section, I discuss the different sampling techniques I used to reach the target population in order to gather data for this study.

2.3 Sampling Techniques

While I set out to gather data from as many people as possible, the total number of people who participated in my interviews (from the different social groups I have listed in this dissertation) were 30.[51] With this number, I was able to acquire varied views about the phenomenon I have investigated in this study. More specifically, I used three sampling techniques, namely 1) purposive; 2) snow ball and 3) stratified sampling techniques to get information from various categories of people. Teddlie & Yu (2007:80) define purposive sampling as a "nonprobability" selection technique that demands that the fieldworker chooses certain units or case studies based on a specific activity in which they are engaged. With this approach, one avoids picking people randomly. These scholars also note that this type of sampling is employed when the person (or a specific group of people) is a major focus of investigation. Similarly, Devers & Frankel (2000:264) argue that purposive sampling is designed to enhance the understanding of "selected individuals or groups' experience[s]", if the investigator needs to gain the "greatest insight into the research question." One advantage associated with purposive sampling is premised on the notion that the scholar 'decides on' the kind of research participants s/he thinks have the 'required data' because such individuals are seen as being directly involved in the activity being investigated.

[51] Becker (1998:67) observes that fieldworkers cannot study everything; they need to concentrate on a few aspects and examine them in details.

In lieu of these insights, it is clear that purposive sampling targets people directly involved in the research phenomenon since they have information that other members of the community may not possess. Since the first step in my process of gathering data involved gathering experiences of people who were directly taking part in the creation, transmission, preservation and management of music and dance among the Bagisu, I selected *imbalu* ritual executors, community and clan leaders, elders, singers of funeral dirges and women who lead songs during marriage ceremonies. Furthermore, I sought the views and experiences of elders who narrate folktales, legends, clan genealogies and past histories of society, directors of bands, musicians and dancers to take part in this study. Such people directly participate in community practices and are able to offer information that ordinary people may not possess.

Despite my efforts, I could not get all the people from this category on my first attempt. I had to use my old contacts to lead me to those community members whose contacts I did not have yet they had relevant information. In this case, I employed snowball, also known as chain referral sampling, a technique that mainly worked in Mbale Town. As Biernacki & Waldorf (1981:141) note, snowball sampling involves "referrals made among people who share or know of others [possessing] some characteristics that are of research interest [to the investigator]." By using the people that I knew, I was able to reach those people I did not know. I found snowball sampling specifically beneficial in terms of locating musicians, music groups, members of *inzu ye Masaaba* and those people who take custody of some societal regalia whose contacts I did not have before. In spite of snowball sampling having the advantage of enabling the scholar to connect with people s/he did not know before, it has numerous limitations. Biernacki & Waldorf (1981:148-49) urge scholars who use this technique to be aware of the fact that when original contacts used to initiate the study are exhausted, one gets a challenge of establishing new ones thus causing the problem of mistrust. More so, there are cases where the researcher's old contacts lead him/her to their friends or relatives, a practice that jeopardises the credibility of the research project. Related to this is a situation involving the fieldworker's own friends coming up to suggest their own relatives and friends who may not be competent.

Under the sub-section on gathering views of 'silent' voices, it is noted that this study was motivated by the need to gather as many views as possible. I wanted to share the views and experiences of elders, ritual executors, community leaders, musicians, dancers and custodians of ritual regalia. I also wanted to share the views and experiences of those people not normally mandated to speak on behalf of society. In this regard, I used Stratified Random

Sampling (SRS) to share the experiences of this latter group. Used mainly in quantitative studies, this technique involves classifying people based on gender, age, level of education and social status in society.[52] As de Vries (1986:31) has observed, the researcher randomly picks a specific number from each of these groups and takes them for an interview. Through playback sessions (see detailed discussion under subsection 2.4.2.6) in several trading centres among other places[53], I identified young men who were not yet initiated into manhood, men who did not have homes of their own as well as un married men and women. Afterwards, I played the recordings I had made while meeting elders and other 'elite' members of society to elicit the comments of the former group. These comments were also analysed to supplement the views and experiences of the 'elite' members of the community. I included these categories to have a fair representation of the different people constituting the Kigisu society. In the next section, I discuss the research design I adopted for this study.

2.4 Research Design

I employed a qualitative research methodology with an ethnographic approach to gather data for this study. Unlike quantitative research which draws on statistical data, qualitative studies share in people's experiences and ideas to describe, analyse and interpret data. According to Merriam (2002), qualitative research is concerned with how social groups construct meaning in the worlds they live. As he puts it, "meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world. The world, or reality, is not the fixed, single, agreed upon […] phenomenon […] Instead, there are multiple constructions and interpretations of reality that are in flux and that change over time" (Merriam, 2002:3-4). To understand these constructions, one needs to interact with his/her research participants at personal level. As such, I chose this methodology because of the ability to enable me share the ideas and experiences of the Bagisu on the archival practices prevalent in their community.

Under qualitative methodology, the nature of the study necessitated the use of an ethnographic approach. Emerson et al (1995:1) remind us that ethnography calls for studying

[52] Among the Bagisu, social status is not only measured in terms of material wealth, it also depends on whether the person is married or not. Moreover, for the case of men, someone who is circumcised is given more respect than one who is not. In addition, a man who stood firmly during circumcision is more respected than one who feared and cried out during circumcision. Issues of social status are beyond the scope of this study.

[53] Some of these people were identified during casual discussions in places like taxis, markets and after concerts or ritual performances.

people as they go about their daily lives. Moreover, it requires building rapport with the population; sometimes demanding that the investigator learns the local language in order to understand the phenomenon under study (Gobo, 2011:15-18; Myers, 1992:29; Maanen, 1998: 1-3). Besides, the ethnographer needs to immerse him/herself in the activities of the population, be keen on observations and creates a diary to regularly and systematically register his/her "observations and experiences" (Emerson et al, 1995:1).[54]

In order to learn how the Bagisu think about their history, how they understand their music and dance, the kind of music and dance that matter to them and the way they create and archive these materials, there was need to live with them. During the time I lived and interacted with the Bagisu people in Mbale Town and Bududa District, I attended and participated in their day-to-day activities. These activities included funeral rites, beer parties, church functions, ritual practices especially the festivities that formed the initiation of boys into manhood through *imbalu* rituals, story-telling sessions with elders, music concerts and other communal events. My participation in these events enabled me understand what the Bagisu "experience as meaningful and important" (Emerson et al, 1995:2).

While using the ethnographic approach, I was also aware of growing debates around what has generally come to be regarded as 'conventional'/ 'interpretive' ethnography. Merriam (2002:4) defines this form of ethnography as "learning how individuals experience and interact with their social world [and] the meaning it has for them." The main limitation with this approach is the lack of a critical investigation of how certain categories of individuals are represented. For studies engaged in postcolonial debates, there is need to draw on a critical ethnographic approach, which represents a "[movement] from monologue to dialogue, from information to communication" (Conquergood, 1991:182) with research participants. For the present study, I had to move beyond interpretivitism to critically investigate "how the social and political aspects of the situation shape the reality [and] how larger contextual factors affect the ways in which individuals construct reality" (Merriam, 2002:4). In other words, how are the interests of certain groups in society served at the expense of others? How do power, privilege and oppression play out? (Conquergood, 1991:179; Geertz, 1998:131-132).

Influenced by the above views, especially the need to approach ethnography through what Conquergood (1991:183) regards as a "communicative praxis", which allows ordinary

[54] See also Myers, (1992:22); Blaike, (2010); Greener, (2011), for similar arguments.

members of the community to challenge dominant voices, I conducted this study with the aim of engaging with a multiplicity of views. Engaging with varied views of different people has enabled me document a variety of comments, ideas and experiences of the old, middle-aged women and men, as well as what I have called the 'silent' voices. The latter group is composed of low ranked members of society who are not usually mandated to speak on its behalf. In the subsection below, I discuss how I collected the views of 'silent' voices, a discussion largely influenced by the critical ethnographic approach.

2.4.1 Gathering Views of 'Silent' Voices

Before embarking on fieldwork, I was aware of the social hierarchies that exist among the Bagisu. I have already discussed how issues of class based on gender, the role one is expected to play in the community, marital status and whether or not someone is initiated into manhood are at the centre of determining who speaks and represents society. In most cases, people who officiate during ritual performances, clan and community leaders form what I would regard as the society's 'elite' class and are the ones mandated to speak on behalf of everyone. In addition to the above category of people are individuals who possess special skills such as musicians, narrators of folktales and clan genealogies, blacksmiths and in indigenous medicine. However, there are other members of society who include the uncircumcised, un married and those who do not have homes of their own (even when they are circumcised or married). These people fall under the group I have categorised as 'silent' voices because they are not mandated to speak on behalf of the public. But how do we treat the views of such people? Are their views not relevant? Does it mean that such people do not experience what goes on in society including its music and dance?[55]

[55] One of the motivations for conducting this study was to contribute to debates towards the deconstruction of the colonial archive. Premised on the top-down model (see Evans, 2007:395), colonial archives worked to the exclusion of the people whose material they collected and preserved. Challenges of space and financial resources notwithstanding, curators, archivists and fieldworkers continue to make decisions on what, how and why certain materials should be collected and documented without taking into consideration the worldviews of people whose material they collect. As Vallier (2010:40) also argues, archives constructed on the colonial foundation are "cloaked in policies that hinder open access." Of course, musicians reserve the right to dictate how their musics should be used when it is taken for preservation in archives. However, as Seeger (1996:87) argues in relation to copyright, ethnomusicology archivists should have the obligation of not only helping community members negotiate better deals for their music, but also educate them about the need to have their musics accessible to the public. Drawing on Lobley's (2012:182) views that archives have tended to benefit "collectors more than the collected", I argue that this mentality has to change if we are to build and come up with sustainable music archives which serve the needs and aspirations of different stakeholders – fieldworkers, archivists, curators, musicians, community leaders, ritual elders and even ordinary members of the community. This viewpoint is not only limited to the field of music archiving, but has also preoccupied development theorists – see for example Briggs & Sharp (2004) – who have argued for a shift from a "developmentalism"

As I have already pointed out in relation to SRS technique, I moved to several trading centres in Bududa District, interacting with people. Through what Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2005:48) calls "conversational interviews",[56] I talked about archiving music, especially the extent to which the Bagisu have ensured that these materials are safeguarded for future generations. The intention of the conversational interviews was to attract the attention of the participants, whom I have categorised the 'silent' voices. I later made appointments to have a meeting to discuss the views I had gathered from the musicians and community leaders.[57] During our subsequent meetings, I played the recordings and afterwards asked the former group questions about the recordings they had heard. The elicited comments enriched my analysis of the data I had earlier collected.

This methodological approach relates to Simha's (1991:104) idea of "re-recording." In an effort to determine the basic pulses of the song-tales of the Ngbaka people of the Central African Republic, Simha devised a technique of recording the songs more than once. After the first session, he requested the performer to listen to the earlier recording and clap along while he recorded this second session. From here, Simha transcribed both recordings, superimposing the second recording unto the first one. In the end, he obtained detailed information about the rhythmic structures of the music of the Ngbaka people. Like it was the case with play-back sessions as discussed under subsection 2.4.2.6, this technique enabled me to engage in two significant activities: 1) disseminating earlier recordings to a particular

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that looks at development from western lenses. With regard to the present study, to ensure the creation of sustainable archives, I argue that researchers need to establish ways of how the voices of the marginalised can be included in archival projects. The marginalised members of society can provide views on what should be collected and how it should be documented.

[56] Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2005:48) uses the notion of conversational interviews to describe a situation where the fieldworker may informally engage with members of the public on his/her topic of investigation in settings like taxis, restaurants and during or after a social event. The fieldworker uses this opportunity to acquire more insights about the general thinking of the members of the public on the topic one is investigating. Aware of the ethical issues this technique may bring about, I made sure that after the first encounter with the potential participants, I made appointments with them to discuss the data I had earlier gathered from the clan leaders and musicians to elicit comments from the former category.

[57] Despite the advantage of this technique being able to enhance the collection of rich data, I was aware of its ethical implications. For example, is it ethically right to share what you gathered from community leaders with people of low social status? To this end, I found the views of Briggs & Sharp illuminating. While discussing why there is need to bring western notions of development in conversation with indigenous knowledge systems, Briggs & Sharp (2004:668) write that the "voices of [low-ranked …] must be allowed to criticise dominant worldviews, challenge terms of debate and propose alternative agendas." Moreover, although scholars who claim to empower local people (especially from Africa) run the risk of perpetuating colonial misrepresentations of the colonised, Sultana (2007) argues that people should always keep conducting research with the aim of presenting data that can lead to empowerment of communities where it is gathered. To her, "fieldwork can be productive and liberating, as long as researchers keep in mind the critiques and undertake research that is more politically engaged, materially grounded, and institutionally sensitive" (Sultana, 2007: 375). Applied to the field of archiving, these views are significant because inclusion of varied voices in the making of an archive leads to archival practices that are sustainable since they serve the needs of many people.

section of the community; and 2) collecting new data for further analysis. This technique did not only enrich my analysis, but also enabled me fill up the missing gaps in the data I had earlier collected. In the following subsection, I discuss the methods (tools) I adopted to gather data for this study.

2.4.2 Methods of Data Collection

Writing about Klaus Wachsmann's collections as housed in MAKWAA, Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012: 209-212)[58] argue that scholars need to make new recordings based on a critical examination of the materials of the past. In other words, one needs to understand how such recordings were made and under what conditions. As they point out, an understanding of the methodology past collectors and scholars employed, the equipment used and nature of documentation accompanying the materials under custody of a specific archive helps scholars to devise new methods of collecting other materials. Despite making substantial recordings of the various musics and dances of the Bagisu people, Wachsmann used the survey approach which did not give him ample time to interact with musicians, community leaders, ritual leaders, among other people, about the music and dances created and performed. The assumption that creating archives that address the needs of different stakeholders require direct engagement with the community members demanded that I embrace the following tools to gather data: 1) interviewing; 2) participant observation; 3) Focused Group Discussions (FGDs); 4) audio-visual recording, photography and note-taking; 5) use of third-party data; 6) organisation of play-back sessions and ;7) library research. How I used each of these tools to collect data and how they supplemented each other are the issues discussed in the sub-sections that follow.

2.4.2.1 Interviewing

Interviewing is one of the research tools that are common in the humanities and social sciences. The use of this apparatus involves face-to-face conversations between the fieldworker and the people from whom s/he seeks information. As Spradley (1979:58) argues, interviews need to be treated as a "series of friendly conversations into which the researcher slowly introduces new elements to assist informants to respond as informants." In addition, what Spradley (1979: 59) regards as "explicit purpose" and "ethnographic explanations" relate to the need by the fieldworker to guide the people from whom s/he seeks

[58] See also Fargion (2004:451) and Seeger (1986:270).

information on the direction of the research and provide explanations regarding the project as a way of turning a friendly conservation into a meaningful scholarly study. This approach explicitly points to the need by the researcher to build rapport with the people being interviewed in order to get as many views as possible. To build rapport involves showing interest in what the research participant is talking about, encouraging explanations on the concepts that crop up during the conservation as well as allowing him/her space to express his/her ideas freely. As this study sought to share people's views and experiences on archiving music and dance among the Bagisu, I used interviewing as a tool to gather data. I used both structured and unstructured interviews during formal and informal meetings.

Involving what I would call 'pre-prepared' question schedules where the researcher sets the questions to be asked,[59] I used structured interviews during meetings with leaders of musical groups, instrument musicians, clan and community leaders as well as members from *inzu ye Masaba*.[60] Meeting the above category of people necessitated getting them in formal settings (especially their offices) and thus having pre-set questions to guide the interview. Not only did most of these people allow the researcher a limited number of hours for the interview session, the fact that they requested for meetings in their offices or other formal situations also demanded that I have structured questions to fit these formalised settings.

Conversely, unstructured interviews do not demand that the researcher has a list of pre-prepared questions. The fieldworker merely relies on a set of themes to guide the interview process. The nature of response provided by the person being interviewed induces the researcher to ask follow-up questions which results into gathering more ideas than planned. In this study, I employed unstructured interviews to seek the views of people in contexts of the performance of ritual dances, beer parties, among others. I used unstructured interviews in these settings since they could not enable the fieldworker prepare formal meetings with his/her research participants. All my interview sessions were guided by open-ended questions that allowed people to present a variety of views on a particular theme.[61] While interviews proved an important tool to gather data for this study, there was also need to directly get involved in some of the activities studied through participant observation. As

[59] In appendix I, I provide a list of sample questions to show the nature of questions that guided my interview sessions, especially during the formal settings.
[60] See Chapter Four on discussions about *inzu ye Masaba*, what it is mandated to do and *umukuka*, the political head of this institution.
[61] In Appendix II, I present a list of people who participated in this study.

discussed below, participant observation enhanced an understanding of the nature of roles particular people play during the process of archiving music and dance among the Bagisu.

2.4.2.2 Participant Observation

On conducting ethnographic studies, Conquergood (1991:180) appeals to fieldworkers to consider ethnography as "embodied practice." By embodied practice, Conquergood looks at ethnography as a venture that demands that the fieldworker gets immersed into the activities of the people whose culture s/he is studying. More so, when Conquergood regards the ethnographer as an "embodied researcher", he points to the fact that scholars need to experience things at both 'bodily' and 'intellectual' level. In other words, the ethnographer must be part of the activity being investigated as this practice enables him/her understand aspects of people's culture 'better'.[62] More so, while cultivation of rapport during the interviewing process participates in collapsing the power hierarchies that exist between the researcher and the researched, getting involved in the activities of community members is crucial in blurring such power relations.

The process of conducting this study also involved personal involvement in some community events that took place in Bududa District and Mbale Town. Not only did I join the story-telling sessions and share my own stories, I also participated in community activities including funeral rites, beer parties, church ceremonies, clan meetings and *imbalu* circumcision rituals. As I participated in these activities, I played certain roles. During the funeral ritual dance discussed in Chapter Four, for instance, I participated in drying the drums.[63] In most beer parties, my role was to help in operating the cassette radio used to play music to entertain people who were drinking the beer. Moreover, while I could join members of my clan in deliberating on issues of the community during meetings, my major role during church functions was to read the scriptures and participate in the choir rehearsals and performances. Finally, as *imbalu* rituals were an integral part of my study, my role during these ceremonies was to lead songs, especially as candidates were taken for the operation. Figure III below is a photograph in which the fieldworker appears with an *imbalu* party at the courtyard of the clan leader where the boy was circumcised.

[62] See also Myers (1992:29); Emerson, (1995:1-5) for similar views.
[63] Drying drums involves looking for dry banana leaves (*Kamasanza*) and setting them on fire to produce heat that dries the top skin of the drum so as to produce the required pitches. Although I did not join the group that looked for dry banana leaves, I joined them in putting the drums near fire and ensuring that the drums are not burnt in the process.

Figure III: Dominic Makwa (in the middle wearing a light green T-shirt) with the Bagisu in Bududa Performing Music during *Imbalu* Circumcision Rituals in December, 2014[64]

Taking part in fieldwork activities enabled me understand how such events are performed, their social value and how the society preserves them to ensure that they are available to other people in future.[65] Aware of the fact that I needed to understand how certain musics, dances and rituals are performed, I had to avoid over participation in these events, since as Ssempijja (2012a: 229) notes in his work on ethics and researcher identity during fieldwork, over involvement in issues of the researched hinders one's research progress since it affects the ability to study what is going on. In this case, as Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2005) observes, the investigator would need someone else to study the involvement of the researcher in the activities being studied. As such, the need to take on the identity of a researcher demanded that I occasionally become what Seeger (1992a:105) calls a

[64] This photo was taken by Khafu Lutalo during fieldwork in Bududa District in December, 2014.
[65] In fact, while I grew up participating in many of the activities which were part of this research, I did not understand them. It was during discussions with research participants that I understood how community members preserved and managed their music and dance.

"silent observer" and concentrate on note-taking.[66] I had to create what I call 'transitions', which were moments when I would stop participating in the social event to make notes. These transitions took place whenever performers could have interludes in their music or when new soloists took over this role from those who were on stage. Such changes gave me an opportunity to ask people engaged in any performance why certain activities were conducted in specific ways – a strategy that enabled me get more themes for interview sessions.[67] In the sub-section below, I discuss how I also drew on Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) as a method of data collection for this study.

2.4.2.3 Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)

FGDs are meetings where two or more people gather to deliberate on one or several issues. In relation to this study, these discussions mainly took place during formal meetings where I mobilised people either in church, my home, someone's office or playground to discuss questions related to archiving Kigisu music and dance. FGDs were usually suitable for discussions where I anticipated the cropping up of contradicting ideas which would require a wide range of responses to address them. As such, I used FGDs during meetings with elders and band musicians.[68]During these interactions, I expected to learn the history of a particular ritual, its performance context or acquire background information about the nature of music and dance performed in a specific band. As a result, research paprticipants were able to share information that supplemented on one another's views in cases there were contradictions. To have a fair representation of participants, I ensured that FGDs were composed of both genders (consisting of men and women) and people of different age groups (organising FGDs that involved both the youth and elderly people).[69]

Focussed Group Discussions enabled me gather varied views from the people I interacted with and in cases where someone brought up ideas that other members disputed, it

[66] Some scholars including Li (2008:100) advise fieldworkers to take on two identities while using participant observation as a research tool. Li observes that emic scholars can participate in the activities being researched as insiders but take on an outsider's identity while observing them as a way of understanding the nature of roles people take on and what the performance means to those who stage it. See more details on outsider/insider identities under section 2.5.

[67] In Appendix III, I have provided a list of events attended during fieldwork.

[68] These were groups of musicians who organised themselves and bought drums, shakers and other instruments to perform music mainly during circumcision ceremonies.

[69] There were cases when I had FGDs with only men or women. As illustrated in Figure IV, the people in the discussion were young men who belonged to a local *kadodi* Band known as Nakhatole Drummers Group (NDG). Most *kadodi* bands are composed of young men, aged between 16 and 25 years, since they are considered strong and more energytic to carry the drums and play them as they accompany *imbalu* candidates on their way to cultural sites or as they visist their relatives.

was often corrected by other people during the discussions. Figure IV shows the researcher with members of Nakhatole Drummers Group (NDG)[70] during a FGD in Bituwa village, Bumasata Parish, Bulucheke Sub-County (Bududa District) on Friday, January 24, 2014.

[70] NDG is a *Kadodi* ensemble in Bunanzushi Parish (Bulucheke Sub-County), Bududa District. According to Thomas Nayele (founder member), this band was established in 1970 – the year *kadodi* drums were introduced in southern Bugisu, particularly Bududa District. Members of NDG do not only perform music during circumcision rituals, they are also hired to accompany politicians during rallies. This *kadodi* band also performs music during wedding ceremonies, the two latter contexts pointing to how circumcision music and dance has transcended initiation rituals.

Figure III: Fieldworker, Dominic Makwa (right with book and pen making notes), with Members[71] of NDG during Fieldwork in Bududa District.[72]

[71] As this picture shows, the members of NDG are all men. Men take a leading role in *imbalu* circumcision rituals since society considers them as stronger than women.

[72] This discussion was organised after the band had performed *kadodi* music in Bituwa Village. Bituwa is found in Bumasata Parish, Bulucheke Sub-County (Bududa District). In the picture, some of these members can be seen leaning on their drums. This photo was taken by Sandra Namome (on behalf of the fieldworker) during fieldwork.

2.4.2.4 Audio-visual Recording, Photography and Note-taking

The nature of this study necessitated making both audio and video recordings, taking still photos and writing notes while in the field. In this regard, I did audio-visual recordings, photographed people during social events and took notes, all of them becoming essential tools for collecting data. Generally, I made audio recordings during interview sessions (especially during contexts that involved one interviewee). I made audio recordings with a Micro Track II Digital Audio Recorder since this machine has mono-directional microphones which can easily capture voices of such interviewees. On the contrary, I found it necessary to use a video camera to record group interviews and live performances. In the case of community performances, members of the audience usually contribute to the event by making a number of comments, which are crucial in enriching the data of a study. To this end, capturing such events on a video camera tantamounted to keeping a detailed record of whatever was discussed during a group interview or what had been presented through a live performance.

While I participated in making the recordings, I also trained research assistants on how to operate the recording gadgets – audio, video and still photo cameras. Research assistants made recordings during situations when I facilitated in the individual and group interviews as well as during my participation in the events. In situations where the research assistants were absent, I used only the video camera, which I fixed on a tripod stand to allow me also facilitate in interviews or participate in performances.

I also took photographs of musical instruments, musicians, dancers and those people who were demonstrating particular dance motifs or making certain gestures. Besides taking still photographs, I also captured people who were dancing or performing music through audio and video recordings. The audio and video recordings enhanced the analysis of data or what Spradley (1979:59) regards as "going over it later" after the interviews or during the 'second play-back sessions' as discussed under subsection 2.4.2.6. Some of the recordings are also incorporated in this dissertation to enrich my discussions.[73] More so, the photos are used in this dissertation for illustration purposes. Because I could not attend all the activities where music and dance were performed, I obtained recordings about the events I missed from other people. This became a significant tool for data collection as illuminated in the subsection that follows.

[73] See the DVD with selected video clips submitted together with this dissertation.

2.4.2.5 Use of Third-Party Data

What I am referring to as 'third-party' data is information that was pre-recorded. In other words, third-party data denotes materials depicting the playing of instruments, dancing and ritual performances captured prior to conducting this study or when the researcher was absent. This kind of information had been recorded by my uncle, Eric Nakasala and my brother, Enos Khafu. Nakasala, for example, made recordings during the official launch of *imbalu* circumcision rituals at BCG in August, 2014. I got video recordings of *imbalu* rituals as were performed at Namasho cultural site from Khafu. Khafu also donated most of the still photos supplementing my discussions on *imbalu* circumcision rituals in Chapter Four. More so, from music kiosks in Mbale Town, I bought DVDs of the *imbalu* inauguration events of 2008 as well as CDs of Bagisu popular musicians. Together with Nakasala, Khafu and the owners of music kiosks, I analysed these videos and still pictures to better understand the nature of materials the Bagisu showcase and transmit during the performance of *imbalu* circumcision rituals.

Analysing music one did not record may sound as failure to present new material. One may not know the intentions of the person who captured such music (and dance). In most cases, the person who made the recordings can decide to discard details which do not make meaning to him/her. S/he may also decide to place microphones in a specific direction to capture particular qualities of sound. As Agawu (2003) has noted, it is important to be present when the performance is being staged if one needs to capture the necessary details. To underscore this point, Agawu (2003:178) observes that:

> being present on location, hearing and seeing the musicians perform, being able to intervene with queries, and later recalling through construction the site of the making of the recording provide [one] with a visual sense of the occasion that can be helpful to a total understanding of the music. To the extent that no recording is transparent, the person responsible for its creation has access to a series of supplementary texts that may aid interpretation.

Despite the need to participate directly in making recordings for your own analysis in future, Agawu also underscores the fact that it is quite impossible to avoid analysing music recorded by others. As he writes, "with the multiplication of sound recordings and visual data, not to mention huge internet resources, the view that you may analyse only music you yourself recorded seems increasingly absurd" (Agawu, 2003:180).

In relation to *imbalu* rituals, many Bagisu, especially those with access to recording technology, have accumulated substantial amounts of recordings of these ceremonies. Among other people, researchers can draw on such items in situations they miss attending the live performances. Although I had planned to attend *imbalu* circumcision rituals to interact with elders responsible for these ceremonies, musicians, candidates and their parents in August 2014 (the month during which major *imbalu* celebrations are performed), my participation was hampered by the tight schedule I had at Stellenbosch University. In spite of being unable to witness live the performance of these rituals, I was able to access them through the recordings done by other people. By analysing pre-recorded data, I filled in the gaps that the research presented.

2.4.2.6 Play-back Sessions

Initially, the technique of playing back the recordings I had made with the musicians, dancers, community and cultural leaders was meant for what I have called the 'silent' voices of the community. However, as I progressed with fieldwork, I realised that this method was significant in not only verifying data, but also filling in research gaps. Stone & Stone (1981:215) define this data collection tool as the "playback and recall of a completed event in which the researcher and participant[s] attempt to reconstruct the event's meaning". As these scholars have noted, "ethnomusicologists who playback audiotapes, show photographs, or present musical instruments for participant comments implicitly […] use elements of this technique. [Likewise] researchers who perform music for their informants to critique for the purpose of analysis are conducting a feedback interview" (Stone & Stone, 1981:215). Informed by these ideas, I listened through the interview recordings and identified participants whose views were contradicting especially as they provided background information about the songs they performed. In addition to contradicting narratives, I was also interested in identifying gaps in the discussions I had with research participants so as to gather more data to enrich my final analysis. As such, I went back to such people and played what I had recorded during our earlier encounters to elicit more ideas. After listening to the recordings, these research participants did not only correct what they shared with me, but also provided more information.

2.4.2.7 Library Research

Considering that new knowledge builds from old knowledge, I had to review other people's works to supplement the data I gathered during fieldwork. This technique involved

reviewing books, manuscripts, journal articles and online sources in various libraries both in South Africa (especially the J.S Gericke and music libraries at Stellenbosch University) and Uganda (specifically the Main Library at Makerere University). By concentrating on various themes during my review (see section 1.6 in Chapter One), I was able to understand the nature of studies conducted elsewhere, the methodologies different scholars adopted, content of their works and the contexts under which such studies were conducted. In so doing, I was able to identify the research gaps and therefore, the contributions of this study.

2.5 Negotiating and Dealing with Different Identities, Ethical Issues and Other Challenges during Fieldwork

Conducting a study of this nature comes with numerous challenges. These challenges are more pronounced during the data collection phase due to the constant interactions the fieldworker has with his/her research participants. The first issue is the negotiation of multiple identities during fieldwork (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2005). Similarly, Taylor (2003: viii) observes that scholars live in an "overlapping world", finding themselves in a situation where they neither belong to the communities they conduct fieldwork nor being completely outsiders. This was my situation when I went back to Bududa District to gather data. Despite being someone born there, I found myself having identities of an insider and outsider. That I was an insider while conducting fieldwork in Bududa is articulated by my identity as a Mugisu man, someone who had undergone *imbalu* circumcision rituals and speaks Lugisu (particularly the Lubuuya dialect) fluently.

Having been born and raised in Bududa, my family is still living there. In a way, when I returned to Bududa for fieldwork, I was returning home, as any other person staying away from the place of his/her birth could. Bududa was also a place where I had also served the community in various capacities. In 1998, I was the Local Council one (LC1) General Secretary of my village. Moreover, as a circumcised man, I had been involved in leading *imbalu* candidates in songs, especially when they were taken for pen-surgery, the ritual involving the operation of the boy's penis. These positions privileged me to attend most of the activities associated with different rituals including those analysed for this study because I was considered a man.[74]

[74] As I will discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, a man among the Bagisu is any male who undergoes *imbalu* circumcision rituals. Upon circumcision, he is given the share of the family property (especially land) and is

In a way, people expected me to know the cultural issues I was researching about. Most people I interacted with during fieldwork were my own relatives – grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, uncles, aunties, sisters and brothers.[75] Was I not camouflaging to conduct academic research while looking for something else? When Agawu (2003:201) notes that native scholars grapple with ethical issues as they strive to construct the images of their own people, his viewpoints are influenced by the above question. Are etic (non-native) scholars in a 'better' position to represent a particular cultural system since they may be regarded as 'neutral' people? As Ssempijja (2012a:218) has noted, on the one hand, people who advocate that non-native scholars can represent other people's cultures 'better' think that such scholars can analyse what they study "without being restricted or compromised by any attachment or cultural conditions." On the other hand, native scholars are believed to offer objective interpretations of their societies since they are from there. These are some of the issues I grappled with while doing research.

Not only did my insider identity 'reconnect' me to the activities I had previously been involved in, it also exposed me to certain closely guarded information society does not give to outsiders. Such views as associated with ritual performance, secret talk – normally on potent medicine and sex – are usually hidden from strangers. When Spradley (1979:21) talks about being exposed to "cultural scenes" that outsiders may not access, he refers to accessing the society's closely guarded information during fieldwork. Moreover, the fact that I had grown up in Bududa enhanced my understanding of non-verbal communication cues, which Clifford (1973:7) sums up as "twitches, winks, fake-winks, parodies [and] rehearsals of parodies." Clifford (1973:6) argues that for ethnographers to acquire rich material about the cultures they study, they need to understand a "socially established code" through which the local population communicates certain messages. If someone winks his/her eye during a social activity, is that person merely contracting the eye or there is a form of communication going on? Understanding such communications is significant as it enables the fieldworker to discover multiple meanings about a particular phenomenon and such situations mainly privilege native scholars than their non-native counterparts. Indeed, during fieldwork, I was keen on communications which portrayed veiled messages and if I did not understand them,

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expected to get married and begin his family. For more details on *imbalu* and manhood among the Bagisu, see Heald (1999); Khamalwa (2004); Makwa (2010; 2012).

[75] Because of the extended nature of the family among traditional Bagisu, the child belongs to an entire community. Although one will always boast of a biological mother and father, s/he regards all the father's sisters as his/her aunts and mother's sisters as his/her mothers. Likewise, the mother's brothers are regarded as one's uncles.

these formed some of the topics upon which I asked the questions during interview sessions and FGDs.

Without doubt, however, a native scholar never ceases to be an outsider. S/he may be considered someone from the outside since that person could have spent several years at school, only to return to the place of birth occasionally. The idea of returning home at specific times usually applies to scholars who spend substantial amounts of time away from 'home', only to return there for such occasions like fieldwork. Although this position is advantageous to scholars as it enhances 'objective' analysis of data, Ssempijja (2012a) observes that it brings about challenges especially as such individuals have to come with equipment which causes suspicion. Ssempijja (2012a: 221) writes that:

> since fieldwork requires the use of sophisticated gadgets like photo and video cameras, audio sound recorders, and other sophisticated gadgets not common to many people in rural areas, [scholars returning to their own communities] are [sometimes] looked at […] as spies, while [other people] think they are thieves who want to sell their motherland for [money]. Still others believe that these are the reincarnation of the colonialists by the very fact that they tend to engage in similar or related activities.

Certainly, I have spent many years out of Bunanzushi Lower, my home village in Bududa District. Since 2002, I had been away from 'home' for further studies at Makerere University (Uganda), University of Bergen (Norway) and Stellenbosch University (South Africa). For all these years, many things had happened in my absence. In most cases, I also got news like any other outsider whenever something uncommon happened in my community (Ryang, 2000; Newmahr, 2008). Furthermore, although I had earlier stayed in Mbale Town for some time, when I returned for fieldwork, I was no longer an insider. Like other urban centres, there are different people who keep coming and going out of Mbale from time to time. The only 'native' connections I had with this place were the occasional interactions with particular popular musicians, owners of music kiosks and members of *inzu ye Masaba*.

Their shortcomings notwithstanding, however, these outsider identities were advantageous during fieldwork. More importantly, they re-positioned me, especially in Bududa District, as someone seeking information to learn and understand his culture 'better'. Some people regarded me as a person who had been 'lost' since I had been away for 'so long' and needed re-orientation in the ways of my community.

Besides the question of identity negotiation, the nature of the research questions required making recordings during interview sessions and meetings with solo and group musicians. I also needed to record live performances during funeral rites, preparations for *imbalu* rituals, church functions and beer parties. This called for use of such equipment including the audio recorder and video camera as well as a laptop. Besides providing space for downloading data from cameras, the laptop, for instance, substituted cameras during recording sessions, especially in situations where I lacked back-up batteries for my cameras. While equipment played a significant role during fieldwork, it was quite bulky and heavy to carry along, especially considering that Bududa District a mountainous area. The fact that I had to participate in the research activities required me to train my research assistants to take still photos while I operated the video camera fixed on the tripod stand. Moreover, despite having research assistants to help in transporting these items, another challenge was associated with operating all the cameras while also participating in those very activities I wanted to record.

In addition to the challenge of dealing with equipment during fieldwork, the technique of organising playback sessions excited musicians and other community members to request for personal copies of the recordings. Although I made copies on CDs and DVDs and gave them out, their demand overwhelmed my capacity to fulfil the requirements of all those I had recorded. I had not budgeted for this activity prior to conducting fieldwork. As Hellier-Tinoco (2003:29) has also advised, making copies of the materials recorded and returning them to my research participants will become part of the process of giving back to the community members what I had gathered from them.

While I had made arrangements (including venues where to meet for interviews) with people prior to embarking on research, most of them did not fulfil their promises. Although we kept on scheduling these meetings and failing to meet, I did not stop calling and reminding them about the research appointments. I had to be patient, persistently requesting these people to choose the most ‘convenient’ time for our meetings. In Bududa District, for example, I had to be patient because most people were preoccupied with agricultural work and could only get time for whatever I was doing after accomplishing their tasks on the farm. Such persistence eventually paid off. Moreover, by drawing on a big number of people, I was able to substitute those who did not allocate time to my study. Further, I ensured that I communicate to my research participants three months earlier and later engage them in

drafting interview schedules. This ensured that whatever kind of data I collected resonated with the views and experiences I sought to research on.

Conducting a study that involves people from different contexts may not end without experiencing physical hazards on the part of the researcher. On one of my field excursions in Mbale Town, unknown people snatched my bag – which contained memory cards, CDs, DVDs and a notebook – with data. I lost the information stored on these gadgets. However, the practice to download data on the laptop computer and other back up media proved extremely useful since I had to retrieve some of the lost materials. In addition, I had to buy another DVD with *imbalu* inauguration events from a music kiosk in Mbale Town. Lastly, the fact that I had established good rapport with my research participants enabled me to return to them for other sessions during which I gathered more material.

In this twenty-first century where terrorism has become a global threat, every society has sensitised its citizens on the need to remain vigilant especially when interacting with 'strangers'. When people become conscious about their security, fieldworkers – especially as they go along recording and documenting people's cultures – need to take extra care not to 'threaten' the peace of the populations among whom they conduct their studies. In fact, such equipment including cameras, tripod stands, recorders and computers that we take along to the field can be looked at as a security threat by community members. While I had letters of introduction from various authorities and actually considered myself part of the society when I returned to Bududa, I was constantly asked by local leaders if my gadgets were not those that the Al Shabaab[76] terrorist group uses to kill people with. It was after offering repeated explanations that mine were equipment meant to record and store material that people's fears were allayed.

There were several ethical issues related to this study. In other words, to use Ssempijja's (2012a:228) expression, "some level of rubbing shoulders with [people's] cultures" became inevitable while I conducted this study. Whose materials do the musicians and other members of society present? Is it 'their' own items or those that belong to the community? Who gives permission to have access to these items? Can the materials accessed during fieldwork be deposited with institution-based archives including MAKWAA? If so, what ethical issues can such transfers present to the archive? These were some of the

[76] Al Shabaab is an Al Qaeda-linked terrorist group based in Somalia. While the group's activities are mainly concentrated in Somalia, it claimed responsibility for the twin bombings that rocked Kampala City (Uganda) in 2010, killing over eighty (80) people watching the World Cup finals of that season.

questions I had to reflect on while gathering data. As Agawu (2003:205) stresses in relation to African societies, one needs to look at "ethics as discourse", implying that there are no clearly differentiated vocabularies that define ethics. What may be viewed as ethics in philosophy or aesthetics may be different from what is considered as ethics in linguistics, anthropology, ethnomusicology and other disciplines.

Agawu's ideas relate to those advanced by Ssempijja (2012a: 232) who writes that "ethical concerns […] remain as a challenge since while many have written down guidelines to follow, the fields we study differ from one scholar to another, from one region to another. As such [,] the guidelines will always remain as areas of reference while in actual sense, the practices vary from one fieldworker to another." As a project that dealt with communal materials (although some individual musicians claimed that they were performing 'their' own musics), I had to understand that such materials "avow a certain ethical stance" (Agawu, 2003:206). Ethical issues related to permissions for community participation, those surrounding the use of the information in question, accessibility to certain rituals and acquisition of research permits by the scholar – some of which are elaborated below.

While I encouraged as many people as possible to participate in this study, I had to ensure that only people interested in what I was doing were engaged in this study. What I did was to present (in advance) what I call 'Research Consent and Release Form' and a copy of sample questions[77] to people who could read and write before interacting with them during interviews. In most cases, I would give such community members the forms and guide questions a few days prior to the meeting date so that they read and understand what the study was about. Before the interviews, I requested these people to sign the form. For the people who could not read or write, it was my duty to read and translate what this consent form was about. I underscored the issue of voluntary participation on the part of the general population before I engaged anybody in any discussions related to my research.

Relatedly, regardless of whether these participants could read and write or not, I made sure that I point out the purpose for which I was conducting research. I also asked to know whether some of them did not want their names to be revealed in the final report since this dissertation will be published by Stellenbosch University. For those who did not feel secure to have their names revealed, I guaranteed them confidentiality – by promising to conceal their identities and indeed, their names are not mentioned in this dissertation. I have presented

[77] See Research Consent and Release Form in appendix IV.

such informants as anonymous participants. More so, although this project has provided a platform for different categories of people to express their views on archiving music and dance among the Bagisu, I was aware of the impact of depositing the recorded materials with MAKWAA. As an institution-based archive, MAKWAA has its own policies. The archive provides its own framework on access, use and procedures to be followed[78] while sharing financial gains that may accrue from the material deposited there. As such, I had to explain the implication of depositing whatever I had collected with MAKWAA or any other archive.

As a study that dealt with recordings, I also sought the consent of my respondents before recording or taking their photographs. I explained the purpose for which I was making the recordings, especially as relates to saving time during interview sessions. My explanation for making recordings also related to facilitation of play-back sessions during the phase of data analysis. Conscious of the fact that recording gadgets present the "feeling of third persons" (Jackson, 1987:83) when the scholar records his/her participants during an interview or any performance, I also found it ethical to establish the confidence of those sharing their views and experiences with me. I had 'testing the machine' or 'testing one, two, three' exercises to alert the people I was going to record before a pre-set recording was done. Such machinations involved 'self-recorded' clips, which I recorded in the presence of either solo or a group of musicians. I later played such excerpts to musicians or any other person I was interviewing before I could record the session in question.

Lastly, I conducted research after obtaining clearance from the different stakeholders concerned with my project. The Stellenbosch University Research and Ethics Committee (particularly as regards to the Music Department) classified this study as a low-risk research project thus granting permission accordingly.[79] Moreover, not only did the Graduate School of the University write letters to introduce me to the various offices in Bududa District and Mbale Town[80], it also deemed it necessary to introduce me to the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology, a body mandated to regulate scientific research in Uganda.

[78] To access materials under the custody of MAKWAA, one needs to make prior arrangements with the management of this archive. When permission is given, s/he is not required to make copies of the items in the archive since they are copyrighted. However, in case there are musicians interested in using a particular item for their compositions and money accrues from such transactions, MAKWAA promises to contact the person from whom the music was collected for negotiation on how to share the financial proceeds.
[79] Appendix V shows research clearance letter from Stellenbosch University.
[80] In appendices VI, VII and VIII, I include letters of introduction to authorities in Mbale Town, Mbale Town and Bududa District as well as Makerere University respectively.

2.6 Analysis of Data

This study involved two phases of data analysis; 1) in-field and 2) out-of-the-field analysis of data. What I regard as the in-field analysis of data included the play-back sessions I have discussed under subsection 2.4.2.6. While my aim of having these sessions was primarily for elicitation of comments from the so called 'silent' voices among the Bagisu, the sessions were significant as they helped in identifying the gaps that existed in my data. Indeed, the volume of comments I got during play-back sessions were a springboard to the understanding of the kind of information I had to look for in order to fill up the gaps before coming out of the field. As a result of play-back sessions, I was able to return to the field in Bududa District and Mbale Town between mid-December, 2014 and end of February, 2015 thus gathering more information which filled up the gaps in the previous data collection.

Upon arrival at Stellenbosch University, the second phase of data analysis, which I have called out-of-the-field analysis, began. The out-of-the-field data analysis involved transcribing all recorded interviews and translation of the transcribed interviews into English.[81] I also listened to all the songs, folktales, myths and other forms of musical material I had recorded while in the field. Afterwards, these materials were coded and thereafter arranged thematically. Much as the procedure of making codes and identifying themes proved to be a highly tedious exercise, it quickened the writing phase since fieldwork material was easily put in conversation with the themes I had earlier identified when arranging material on theory and literature review.

2.7 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have discussed the process I followed in collecting the data for this study. Specifically, I have highlighted the preparations for fieldwork, the data collection phase and the period that involved analysis of data for this dissertation. More so, not only has this Chapter articulated the methodological paradigm, it also discussed the need to draw on population samples when conducting a study of this nature. Besides, the Chapter has brought

[81] While most of my interviews were conducted in Lugisu, the language of the Bagisu, there were situations in Mbale Town where I used Luganda (the language of the Baganda from Central Uganda) to ask questions. During such incidences, I requested Mr. Eric Nakasala, my research assistant, to help in asking questions since he spoke better Luganda than me. It is important to note that Luganda pervades the whole of eastern Uganda as it was the language the Baganda, who were the British collaborators, used to administer the places they were assigned by colonial masters.

to the fore the techniques I adopted to gather data from what I have referred to as the 'silent' voices. I have also discussed how I negotiated different identities, ethical issues and a number of challenges that were associated with the process of collecting data for this study.

The fact that I used a postcolonial approach to guide the process of conducting and analysing data for this study called for engagement with as many voices as possible. In its broadest sense, the postcolonial approach demands an in-depth analysis through the incorporation of various ideas as presented by even people who could not have a platform to speak for themselves. To this end, this Chapter has demonstrated the need to design counter methodologies for the collection of views of 'silent' voices. The idea of designing counter methodologies to include other voices in one's study relate with the views advanced in critical ethnography that implores scholars to move from mere interpretivism to allow different voices speak out. As such, this Chapter shows how the present study contributes knowledge to debates on this significant methodological shift.

In the next Chapter, I examine how the music and dance of the Bagisu has been archived by different stakeholders since the pre-colonial period. Discussing the different approaches adopted by different stakeholders to archive music and dance among the Bagisu provides background information for discussions in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Chapter 3

Background to Archiving Music and Dance among the Bagisu

3.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, I provide the context of archiving music and dance among the Bagisu. I examine the effort taken by community members, the Government of Uganda (GoU) and private organisations towards the collection, documentation, preservation and management of Kigisu music and dance during the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial era. I also provide an overview of the nature and value of music and dance among the Bagisu to demonstrate why the different stakeholders have worked to safeguard Kigisu music and dance and the kind of approaches they have used to ensure that these materials are preserved for future generations.

I specifically discuss how the indigenous education programmes, ritual performances and other communal events were sites for the Bagisu to create, safeguard, transmit and manage their music and dance during the precolonial period. Further, I examine how the technique of capturing music and dance through making recordings during the colonial period shaped the way Kigisu music and dance was archived. I also discuss how the establishment of MAKWAA, which has become a centre for taking custody of musical materials in Uganda, has enhanced the collection, documentation, cataloguing, archiving, accessibility and management of Kigisu music and dance during the post independence era. I use Wachsmann collections to illustrate my discussions. In this Chapter, I argue that despite the Bagisu archiving their music and dance through performance of rituals, the introduction of recording technology during the colonial period marked a significant change in the collection, documentation and management of these materials.

3.2 Nature and Value of Music and Dance among the Bagisu

As Taylor (2003:15) has argued, communities are fragmented along gender, class, ethnicity and other identities. As such, what may be defined as music and dance among a particular segment of the community may not count as music or dance in another section of society. In spite of this, the Bagisu boast of many kinds of music and dance which participate

in performing their collective identity. More so, the categorisation of the musics and dances performed in this community is informed by the nature of social events under which they are staged. Thus marriage, work activities, rain-making, funeral rites, initiation into divination and circumcision rituals, among other ceremonies, eliciting musics and dances that suit their contexts.

In one of my discussions[82] with Clement Wabuna, a 75-year old man, he told me the following about music, dance and other oral materials of the Bagisu:

> *Babanu bano bali bahindifu naabi – manya ori keeneme umale byeesi bali ninabyo ta. Munjinji ingachi yo ni mushibala shoosi, keene uyange khuwulila ni* '*khuboona*' *tsingano tsingali khukhwama khubikhale, bakuka, mu myenya ni kamashino … Ne bibinu bino bishiili bye lisuno mu shisinza sheefe. Yilosela keene ufujilise … Ulikho ukhola kumulimo kumulayi naabi. Yilosela …*[83]
>
> These people [the Bagisu] are very 'rich' – and be sure that you will never exhaust the things they have. Up in the mountains and everywhere, you will be shocked to hear and see a lot of stories about our past [and] the ancestors being sung in songs and [performed in] dances … And these things are still very important to our society. Just go ahead and you will believe me ... What you are doing is a very good job. Go ahead ...

I met Wabuna during a funeral ritual dance[84] performed for an elder in Bumukonya Village, found in Bumukonya Parish, Nakatsi Sub-County (Bududa District). Wabuna was *uwe tsingoma tse bafu* (custodian of funeral ritual drums), a role he inherited from his late father. He emphasised to me that he had come to dance and celebrate the re-emergence of a ritual that was 'so important' in the community but had been abandoned due to the thinking

[82] During fieldwork, I met some of the research participants more than once. The first encounter was meant to introduce myself and what I was doing. The second time was always a meeting to ask questions about the issues I was exploring. The subsequent times were usually occasions for questions on issues that arose from listening to the recordings of the previous interviews and my initial analysis of the collected data. Other meetings were also for 'casual' discussions about my topic whenever I got the opportunity to meet the research participant again.

[83] Most interviews quoted in this dissertation were conducted in *Lugisu* and later transcribed and translated into English. Moreover, some of the interviews I conducted in Mbale Town were in *Luganda* and were also transcribed and translated into English with assistance from Nakasala, one of my research assistants. Making translations of one's field material into a foreign language like English many times affects the meaning of the intended communication because of the limitation to capture all the gestures, intonations and other embellishments associated with any languages and in this case, Lugisu and Luganda. However, like other African scholars using English as a medium of communication, my translations were motivated by the need to enhance communication beyond the Bagisu community. While providing two versions of the interview (the *Lugisu* version and its literal English translation) may take a lot of space, I have decided to present both accounts whenever I have some lengthy texts for illustration.

[84] Subsections 4.4.1 and 4.4.1.1 of Chapter Four are a discussion on the *ingoma yo mufu* (which is a funeral ritual dance) and how it forms a site for archiving music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa District.

that such performances were backward and ungodly.[85] He underscored the idea that the Bagisu are endowed with rich music and dance heritage. As he put it, Kigisu musics and dances are so many that it becomes impossible for someone to exhaustively list and discuss them.[86] Moreover, in Wabuna's view, the community still needs its music and dance because of the significant role that they play in the social life of the Bagisu. As such, there is need to safeguard these materials so that they can be accessed and used by future generations. But what are these musics and dances and which role do they play in this community to warrant their preservation? These are the questions I address in this section.

Among the Bagisu, the music and dances include those performed to accompany marriage ceremonies (*bukhwaale*). Under this category, the Bagisu perform songs and dances for courtship (*khukwana*), payment of dowry and other marriage gifts (*byeng'we*) by the man's relatives to the parents of the bride. They also perform songs and dances to escort the girl to her husband's home after bride price has been paid.[87] In relation to marriage ceremonies, music acts as a conduit to communicate messages about the need by the bride to be submissive to her husband. Additionally, the songs become a site through which the husband is told his obligations to the family including hard work and respect for the wife and in-laws.

Further, there are musics and dances performed as part of indigenous religious practices (*khukhusaya wele*). As will also be pointed out under section 4.2 of Chapter Four, before adopting western Christianity, the Bagisu worshipped several deities, not only to get material wealth, but also to ask for blessings of children. The musics and dances performed during the indigenous religious practices are also intended to initiate other community members into certain cult practices. What is commonly known as *kyimyenya che mubufumu* are songs which are sang to welcome someone into divination (*khumunjisa mubufumu*). Such

[85] Scholars including Kirkegaard (2005:143-144) and Okpewho (1992:8) show how missionaries and later colonialists despised African expressive forms of culture as backward and later claimed that their attempt to introduce western civilisation, religious practices and administration was meant to bring 'culture' to uncivilised people. To change this stereotype, Mudimbe (1985:151) calls for a reconciliation of African forms of philosophy with those developed from the western world.

[86] I agree with Mbiti's (1975:4) observation that although someone may be able to categorise African forms of heritage, it is sometimes difficult to provide all details about such heritage. This view relates well with the musics and dances performed by the Bagisu – since they are as varied as the day-to-day activities members of the community engage in. What I am presenting in this section is an overview of the nature of music and dances the Bagisu perform.

[87] In the indigenous culture of the Bagisu, the girl would only move to the home of her husband after the latter has paid bride price. Co-habitation was discouraged. Although some Bagisu still follow such a cultural arrangement, most girls in the contemporary Kigisu society co-habit. In this case, bride price may be paid after the girl has even produced several children with the man.

songs are also performed by the diviner as s/he meets his clients. In addition to music and dances performed as part of indigenous religious practices are those that accompany worship in modern Christian churches.[88] From music and dance performed during church services to those forming what Kameli (2010:81-83) regards as "open-air preaching",[89] music and dance play a vital role in communicating particular messages during worship among the Bagisu.[90]

In Uganda, when one mentions the name Bagisu, it is as if the person has evoked the term *imbalu* (Makwa, 2012). As also discussed in Chapter Four, *imbalu* is a ritual that the Bagisu perform to initiate boys aged between sixteen and twenty-two years into manhood.[91] Being a ceremony that defines the entire cosmology of the Bagisu, the *imbalu* ritual is integrated with numerous myths, taboos, songs, dances and other oral narratives, which form an important aspect of the oral heritage of the Bagisu. In fact, to study the music and dance of the Bagisu without including those songs and dances associated with the *imbalu* ritual is tantamount to excluding significant aspects of Kigisu music and dance from one's investigation. At the same time, to study the *imbalu* ritual without examining the music and dances integrated in this ritual is synonymous to presenting an incomplete project. The songs and dances performed in *imbalu* circumcision rituals are important artistic forms in articulating gender ideologies and the relationship between people of different lineages in society (Makwa, 2010). Furthermore, songs and dances performed during *imbalu* rituals are significant in underscoring the history of society. Indeed, through circumcision songs, the Bagisu talk about the various heroes – both living and dead – and underscore their vocations and other achievements in society for the boy undergoing circumcision to emulate (Khamalwa, 2012). By articulating such histories, music (and dance) in *imbalu* circumcision rituals participate in transferring important information from one generation to another.

As I discuss in Chapter Four, the Bagisu also boast of musics accompanying the funeral ritual dance. This ritual takes on different names in different parts of Bugisu. In Sironko and Bulambuli Districts, for example, a funeral ritual is regarded as *libandu*.

[88] While African people have had their own indigenous religious beliefs (Mbiti, 1975:7-64), the influence of missionary and colonial activities led to the adoption of western religions by the African people. According to Mbiti (1975:15), western religious practices were imposed on African people through conquests and other forms of political domination.

[89] Open-air preaching is commonly known as staging crusades. It is a situation where Christians (and even Moslems) go to an open area and preach the gospel to passers-by. Such preaching is usually integrated with music and dance.

[90] See also Naleera (2003).

[91] Khamalwa (2004; 2012) and Makwa (2010; 2012) examine the process through which the *imbalu* ritual undergoes. See also literary scholar Wangusa (1987) whose story is anchored on *imbalu* circumcision rituals among the Bagisu.

Similarly, what is known as *ingoma yo mufu* (the drum for the dead) is a funeral ritual dance among the Bagisu living in Bududa District. Generally, through the music and dance integrated in funeral rituals, one is able to understand the relationship between the deceased, his/her in-laws and the children. The songs also communicate issues of inheritance (of the widow, widower and material property) besides reminding the living about their obligation to be productive (produce children and accumulate material wealth) and be kind to other members of the community. Needless to mention, a funeral ritual dance is only performed for people who have ever produced children and accumulated material wealth – cattle, land and even food. It also acts as a manifestation of the 'cordial' relationship that existed between the deceased and other members of his/her community.

There are also musics and dances which accompany work activities including preparing gardens, planting and harvesting. Relatedly, there are songs and dances that are performed during herding cattle (*bubwayi*) as well as during the hunting activities (*buyifi*). Work songs among the Bagisu were (and in some incidences are still) meant to give those involved in activities like herding or hunting morale so that they continue working. Moreover, research participants told me that during the harvesting of produce, songs became sites for people to underscore the importance of hardwork. The Bagisu also used music and dances performed during this context to thank *wele Nabende*, the god responsible for people's plantations, for blessing them with abundant yields.

There is also children music. Among the Bagisu, this music includes songs performed by children as they engage in various games. One common game I grew up performing (which I also witnessed during fieldwork) is entitled *bukiiko* and involves two or more children sitting in a straight line and stretching their legs. One of the children leads the song while tapping the legs of his/her peers with a small stick. Whenever the song leader sings the phrase *kwakhusingile* (the case is judged against you) and taps your leg, you are expected to fold it. The game comes to an end when all the members of the group fold both their legs but one member remains with one of his/her legs unfolded. This person is considered *umulosi* (a witch/ wizard). As this case shows, children songs enhance socialisation in society. Moreover, in cases where children use their songs to talk about items like animals, plants or physical features – rivers, mountains or valleys – the music becomes a site through which youngsters articulate their relationship with the environment.

Furthermore, despite the controversies surrounding the definition of popular music in Uganda (Isabirye, 2004; Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2006; Asaasira, 2015, 2012),[92] musical materials among the Bagisu include those songs composed and performed by Bagisu popular musicians. Usually composing their songs in *Lugisu*, the popular artists address numerous topical issues ranging from marriage, family conflicts, famine, politics and education. Their songs are mainly associated with a particular social group (the youth, women, men and old people – the latter aged above 60 years) and become vibrant during specific periods. Popular songs convey substantial information about the history of the Bagisu. Besides UBC Butebo Channel, numerous FM Radio stations found in Mbale Town have had a profound impact in promoting and disseminating the popular music composed and performed by Bagisu musicians to the public.[93]

Besides the aforementioned categories of music and dance, there are songs embedded in the folktales (*tsingano*; singular *lukano*) that members of this community narrate. The context of performance is usually the fire place, in the evenings when people are relaxing after the day's work.[94] Like the musics and dances integrated in *imbalu* rituals, songs performed as part of folktales are a platform for the old generation to transmit the history of the community besides entertaining the young ones.

Considering the above list of music and dance as performed during different social events, it becomes evident that the Bagisu boast of abundant musical and dance practices. Moreover, such items play significant roles ranging from communicating certain messages in society to being tools through which the Bagisu transfer important historical information from one generation to another. More so, this heritage participates in constructing the collective identity of the Bagisu.[95] As section 5.3 in Chapter Five encapsulates, music and

[92] Discussions on popular music in Uganda are beyond the scope of this study.

[93] See more details on FM Radio stations and their place in archiving Kigisu music in Mbale Town under section 5.4.

[94] In the video clip numbered 005 (see DVD attached to this dissertation); Namarome is narrating folktales to the researcher during fieldwork in Bududa District. Although Namarome observes that many young people no longer go to her to listen to these folktales, folktales are a conduit for transmitting valuable information (including music and dance) about the past. They also play a role in entertaining people. Most of the folktales Namarome narrated to me were integrated with songs.

[95] Kubik (1966) discusses how music and dance were used as a platform to articulate the Ugandan identity before the international community. Kubic shows how independent Uganda (through the Ministry of Culture and Community Development) licensed numerous cultural troupes which blended traditional music and dance from different parts of the country and performed it before tourists. To Kubik, these artistic forms were used as a kind of 'National Park', not only to help Uganda earn foreign exchange, but also create a spirit of national identity, whenever 'Ugandan' music and dance were performed abroad. The idea of music and dance as elements for articulating Uganda's identity is also advanced by Asaasira (2015) in her discussions on Ndere

dance are also materials some Bagisu harness for economic survival. As such, the value attached to music and dance in this community has inspired a number of stakeholders to ensure that these items are safeguarded so that they continue serving both the present and future generations. In the next section, I discuss the effort to preserve the music and dance of the Bagisu.

3.3 Tracing Efforts in Preserving Music and Dance among the Bagisu

Different periods during the history of Uganda have signalled different approaches to archiving Kigisu music and dance. In other words, the adoption of the various archival approaches has been influenced by the socio-cultural, economic, political and technological conditions of the time. In the subsections that follow, I discuss how Kigisu music and dance materials were archived during the precolonial, colonial and the period after independence. Below I begin with the precolonial era.

3.3.1 Preserving Kigisu Music and Dance during the Pre-colonial Period

Before the various ethnic groups which form what is known as Uganda were 'brought' together into one country by the British colonialists in 1896, each of them lived and operated independently. Each ethnic group had its own cultural, political, religious and socio-economic systems. More so, as Asaasira (2015:181) has pointed out, people "identified themselves by drawing borders of difference using their culture". That the Bagisu have had external contact with their neighbouring communities (the Sebei, Banyoli, Itesots, Samia, Bagwere and the Bakusu of western Kenya) was manifested through barter trade and the intermarriages they have had over the years.[96] These contacts also came through tribal wars or raids. Cooke (1971) observes how the Masaai from Kenya (though not sharing a boarder with the Bagisu) became a threat to the Bagisu by raiding the latter's cattle thus forcing many Bagisu to relocate to highland places as a means of escaping these attacks. Despite these external factors, cultural practices of the Bagisu were not affected by outside influences during the pre-colonial period at the rate they are affected during the contemporary period.

Cultural Troupe in Kampala. Asaasira highlights how Ndere troupe picks on traditional music and dances from different parts of the country and perform it before foreign tourists in Kampala City.

[96] Besides these neigbouring communities, the Baganda (who were the agents of the British colonialists) have had a profound influence on the cultural practices of the Bagisu, especially in terms of the dress code and language.

Consequently, little from the outside world permeated into the musical and dance heritage 'base' of these people.

Discussing the relationship between oral cultures and written records in the understanding of colonial archives, Tough (2012) uses the case of Malawi to demonstrate how precolonial societies in Africa preserved and transmitted information including music and dance. Further, while many contemporary African societies still have extended family systems, this form of family arrangement was more pronounced during the precolonial period. As Tough (2012:246) observes, besides ensuring security for all the members, this family arrangement also became a platform for safeguarding and transmitting cultural materials. At the centre of extended families were elders whose primary role was to pass over information to young generations. This was the kind of information, which these elders had not only acquired through performing certain social roles (as ritual experts, medicine men and blacksmiths), but also got through involvement in the day to-day activities of the community. This included information on such ritual performances like marriage and circumcision as well as ideas on how to live harmoniously with other people in society. Music and dance were among the aspects of culture passed on by these elders.

Although the Bagisu constructed separate huts for their children upon attaining puberty,[97] children who had not attained adolescence stayed with their parents (Makwa, 2010:69). During evenings, parents (and grandparents) could gather around the fire place and narrate folktales and sing songs to the young ones. Namarome, one of the people who narrated several folktales to me during fieldwork explained how this context enabled her learn folktales from her maternal and paternal aunts when she stayed with them during childhood. Namarome noted that before evening meals were served; children sat round the fire to listen to the stories the aunts could tell them. Ranging from tales about famine, war, herding cattle, marriage, working in gardens, invasion by locusts to those about *weneshilishe* (the monster that shallowed people), folktales were a daily activity through which important information was collected and transmitted. The children were expected to learn these tales,

[97] In the traditional family set-up, boys and girls who reached puberty were considered sexually mature and it became a 'taboo' to stay with them in the same house because it was feared that these adolescents would hear their parents in situations of love-making. The *Isimba* was a type of hut a parent could construct for his son. Sometimes parents could also construct separate huts for their daughters. While both boys and girls could welcome visitors – especially members of the opposite sex to their huts – the girls were not allowed to engage in intimate relationships with boys before marriage. Girls who became pregnant while still in the care of their parents became 'second-hand' women. Such women would not fetch enough bride price for their families since they were married as second, third or even fourth wives to already married men.

which were integrated with music, and later narrate them to their peers during occasions like cattle herding or fetching firewood. As such, children became conduits where valuable material was deposited to be accessed and used by other people in future. In Chapter Four, I have discussed how the training and exposure through the closeness one gets as s/he interacts with elders became a platform for learning not only the folktales, but also the music and dance which was later shared with future generations.

Besides the above form of creation, transmission and management of music and dance materials, Finnegan (2012) observes that musicians played a crucial role in archiving music and dance in pre-colonial Africa. More so, the performance contexts for the songs and dances were also sites for retrieving, assembling and transmitting these materials.[98] As Finnegan (2012:4-5) writes,

> [The survival of an oral piece – particularly music and dance] is by definition dependent on a performer who formulates it in words on a specific occasion […] [T]he connection between transmission and very existence is a much more ultimate one […] [W]ithout […] direct rendition by singer or speaker, an unwritten literary piece cannot easily be said to have any continued or independent existence at all.

Finnegan's (2012:4-5) evocation of the notion of "direct rendition by the singer and speaker" relates to the act of ritual custodians and musicians working to ensure that as they perform their roles of presiding over the ritual or any other event, they transmit the music and dance associated with these rituals. Specifically, custodians of social events could use these occasions to transmit such material to young ones. Similarly, Mbiti (1975:4) presents custodians of various rituals including religious ceremonies as "special keepers of oral tradition, whose duty was to memorise and recite historical and other relevant information". These views relate to the archival practices that precolonial Bagisu used. Society relied heavily on ritual custodians, musicians and other experts in archiving its music and dance. By maintaining such people, the community implicitly archived the music and dance performed during the events such custodians presided over.

One important thing to note here relates to the nature of cultural practices of the Bagisu during the pre-colonial period. Unlike other communities that were organised under

[98] This form of archiving is still prevalent in most rural Bugisu despite people having access to recording technology which they use to capture music, dance and other oral materials. Section 4.4 of Chapter Four presents a discussion on how social events, including funeral and *imbalu* circumcision rituals, act as sites where the Bagisu in Bududa District create, assemble, transmit and archive music and dance.

kingdoms and therefore had particular musicians (and dancers) under the patronage of the kings/chiefs, among the Bagisu, the *banamyenya* (singular, *namyenya*), people with recognized skill in song and dance, were the 'property' of the whole community. As public figures, *banamyenya* normally took charge of music and dances during particular social events: marriage cerebrations, twin birth, cleansing rituals, beer parties, rain-making and *imbalu* circumcision ceremonies. For this case, to distinguish between the different custodians of songs and dances was to make specific reference to the nature of events under which the songs and dances were performed. In this respect, there was (and still is, in some cases) *nanyenya we bukhwaale* (song leader responsible for marriage ceremonies), *ulilila mu ngoma yo mufu* (the one who performs music – 'mourns' – during the performance of funeral ritual dances) and *uwe luwengele* (the one who plays *luwenjele* – a wooden trough during beer parties). As Gabriel Watetela, a 60-year old elder in Bushika Sub-County told me, those who narrated clan legends and folktales were known as *banangano* (owners of folktales) (interview, Tuesday 18 October, 2013). The role of these various song leaders was to create and transmit music and dance performed during these events.

Making reference to *imbalu* circumcision rituals, Khamalwa (2004:74) defines *namyenya* as a "local poet and historian, adept at composing didactic songs, knowledgeable in the history of the tribe in general, knows the myths and genealogies of different clans, as well as the legends associated with the different heroes [and is always] the chief soloist, instructor and master of ceremonies". As someone who always had experience because of working with *imbalu* initiates over a period of time, the *namyenya* for circumcision rituals was (and is still) equipped with numerous songs performed in dances like *isonja* and *inemba*. He also demonstrated several dance motifs to the candidates during such performances. The nature of his role usually made him become a 'living' archive, a store that could open its doors to those needing to 'enter' the world of men and share into society's knowledge as played out during such *imbalu* ritual performances.[99]As some of these community musicians, narrators of folktales and clan genealogies became older; they trained younger people to take over from them. I will have a more detailed discussion on how these people transmitted their roles in Chapter Four. In the following subsection, I examine how music and dance among the Bagisu was preserved and managed during the colonial period.

[99] See Makwa (2012:74) on the question of entering manhood among the Bagisu through *imbalu* rituals. See related discussions in Chapter Four about this song leader.

3.3.2 Preserving Kigisu Music and Dance during the Colonial Period

Uganda was declared a British protectorate in 1896 (Asaasira, 2015:181). What this meant was that those parts of the country which had not been opened up to foreign rule were 'exposed' to outside influences. After the Buganda agreement of 1900, which was a deal between the king (*kabaka*) of Buganda[100] and the British colonialists to share political power, a Muganda chief called Semei Kakungulu was sent to "pacify" the ethnic groups of eastern Uganda, which included the Bagisu (Khamalwa, 2004:21). While this new administration introduced western education and religion to the Bagisu, it also preoccupied itself with efforts towards 'helping' them preserve their cultural heritage. In an article chronicling circumstances surrounding the setting up of the Uganda National Museum, Vowles (1981) describes how the British tasked local administrators working in the different parts of Uganda to collect, document and store ethnographic materials in a recognised 'conservation centre' for future generations.

By tasking government administrators to send materials they considered to be of enduring value to the local people for preservation in a museum, colonial agents who worked among the Bagisu also collected such items and took them to the museum for safeguarding. Wangokho, an elder aged about 80 years in Bulucheke Sub-County (Bududa District) corroborated this information by recounting a scenario when his partenal uncle was found in possession of a leopard skin and forced by the Baganda colonial agents to surrender it for custody in a government centre because it was among the items considered valuable to future generations. Wangokho had this to say:

> *Eh, wandayese. Abe nga bakhunyolile ni shishintu shoosi nga liafu, bakhurusokho. Baganda nga barambila bazungu, abe batsekhaama ta. Banyoola papa ulondana ni paapa nga wabikha liafu lwe ngwe paka bamubukula. Ne balala abe bajenda busa nga babolela bananu khubaa bibinu nga kamaafu ketsisolo ni bibinu byeesi babetsa. Bazungu balala betsa ni bibyuma baambisa jimyenya* (interview, February 15, 2014).

[100] Buganda was one of the most organised and powerful kingdoms in Africa before the continent was opened to colonial rule. When the British came to Uganda, the fact that they saw how this kingdom was highly organised and how it dealt with its opponents – especially the Banyoro – forced them (the British) to enter into an agreement with the Baganda. One of the terms of this agreement was to recognise the Kabaka (king) of Buganda as a ruler for the whole of Uganda – but with the 'assistance' of the queen of England. This led to a situation where Baganda chiefs were appointed to administer the different parts of the country on behalf of the British colonial masters. As it became the norm, these chiefs spread Kiganda cultures to the places they went.

> Eh, my brother. If they found you with anything like a skin [of a wild animal], they took it away. The Baganda colonial agents were very tough. They got my uncle (my father's brother) when he had kept the skin of a leopard and took it away. But others were just moving around and telling people to give them things like skins of animals and other artecrafts. Other white men came with their machines and recorded music.

One important development associated with the colonial period in Uganda, like other colonised countries, relates to introduction of western technology.[101] Not only did colonial masters bring technology they could use for their day to-day office activities,[102] their coming also saw the introduction of recording technology. Gadgets like gramophones with such accompanying mechanical aids including LPs and reel-to-reel tapes became objects unto which not only music, but also other oral materials were encoded (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2006). With the music and dance inscribed on them, these mechanical devices were taken to centres like the Uganda National Museum for safeguarding.[103] As a result, these recording technologies played a crucial role in the process of preserving the material culture of different communities in Uganda. In spite of scholars like Tracey from South Africa also making music recordings from Uganda,[104] Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012:210) discuss how Klaus P. Wachsmann, who worked as the curator of the Uganda National Museum between 1947 and 1954, made musical recordings from various Ugandan communities by capturing them on reel-to-reel tapes. These recordings were later deposited with the Uganda National Museum although copies were also deposited at the British Library in London and University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Besides Wachsmann, Cooke, another music scholar and educator working in Uganda from early 1960s, recorded musical materials from different parts of Uganda. Cooke later donated some of his recordings to MAKWAA upon its launch in 2009.[105] Some of the musics and dances that were recorded by collectors like Wachsmann and Cooke during the colonial period included items that belonged to the Bagisu.

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[101] Scholars like Alzouma (2005) have also noted that technological transfer is one of the most significant influences on the lifestyle of many people in former colonies, especially Africa. Not only is the effect of technology felt in the information and communication sphere, but it has also affected people's economic and cultural lifestyle. These effects are at the centre of my discussions on globalisation as presented in Chapter One.

[102] Colonial officials brought typewriters, telephones, telex, among others, which were used in their day-to-day official duties.

[103] Huge amounts of the material recorded from colonised lands were also deposited in archives in Europe and North America (see Seeger & Chaudhuri, 2004: vii). These materials became the basis for studying the musical cultures of the so-called primitive people. Comparative musicology, which later metaphorsed into ethnomusicology, traces its origin to such tendencies.

[104] See Thram (2015).

[105] I have dedicated sections 3.3.3.1 and 3.3.3.2 to a discussion on MAKWAA and the nature of Kigisu musics and dances housed there.

Besides efforts to house material in the national museum, in the preamble to the National Culture Policy (NCP) (2006), it is pointed out that the colonial government preserved the musical heritage of different ethnic groups in Uganda through radio broadcasts. Established in 1953, Radio Uganda[106] came up with programmes broadcasted in indigenous languages with musics from such places played to the public. Kigisu musics also characterised the programmes broadcasted by Radio Uganda during the late 1950s and early 1960s. As such, these broadcasting programmes became moments during which the Bagisu could tune in and listen to their music, which had been kept by this media house.[107] In this way, Radio Uganda became a form of archive that opened its doorways to a number of Bagisu to tune, listen and appreciate their musical heritage. Such music involved songs composed by local musicians whose themes were usually related to topical issues. However, as Ssewakiryanga & Isabirye (2006) observe, funding inefficiencies to acquire tapes for recording new musical materials forced the staff of Radio Uganda to destroy valuable old sound recordings in order to record new material. New material was recorded on old tapes thus erasing the items which had been previously captured there. Moreover, the biggest challenge with this form of archiving was its inability to allow members of the public go there and access its material. Some scholars, researchers and ordinary people interested in material housed by this media house were not only unaware about the items housed there, the music and dance items were also not properly catalogued to enhance access by those who need them (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2006). [108]

By the late 1950s, the political atmosphere in Uganda indicated that the country was 'ripe' for self-rule. The major events that characterised this period included increasing political manoeuvres through alliances, uprisings in some parts of the country and the moving back and forth between Kampala and London as local politicians and colonial masters were engrossed in negotiations for political power. Uganda's quest for independence was finally granted by its British colonial masters on October 9, 1962. After independence, the use of expressive forms of culture including music, dance and poetry became one of the pillars upon

[106] After its establishment, several outlets of this radio were later opened in the different regions of Uganda. These outlets broadcast in local languages, playing music of the communities in which they are located.

[107] By the time I conducted this study, Radio Uganda – which was merged with Uganda Television to form the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC) in 2006) – was still having programmes during which it plays what Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2006:35) calls "music to remember". This type of music consists of songs which were popular during a specific period of time – covering such topics as famine, political instability or coronation of some political leaders. Kigisu music, by local popular musicians, is also played during this programme.

[108] See works by Ssewakiryanga & Isabirye (2006) and Namaganda (2011) who also highlight issues of accessibility of music and dance archives in Uganda.

which the new nation was to be built (Kubik, 1968). Therefore, concerted efforts towards the promotion and preservation of musical materials from the various parts of the country also formed part of the programmes that preoccupied the new Ugandan state. These are the efforts that I bring to the fore in the following subsection.

3.3.3 Preserving Kigisu Music and Dance after the Independence Period

That effort to preserve music and dance among the Bagisu can be traced from the pre-colonial era is demonstrated through the day-to-day events that the community staged. These efforts can also be seen through the indigenous education system which provided a platform for the Bagisu to create, transmit and manage their music and dance. As already discussed, the different musicians also became tools for the collection, preservation and transmission of musical materials among pre-colonial Bagisu. In addition to precolonial preservation efforts, the machinations of the colonial government to safeguard music and dance from communities like the Bagisu are seen through efforts to establish the Uganda National Museum.

There were also music collectors like Wachsmann and Cooke who spearheaded efforts to archive musical materials of different ethnic groups in Uganda. However, while the Uganda Museum had kept some of the reel-to-reel tapes that were deposited there by Wachsmann in the late 1940s and early 1950s, materials captured on these discs could not be played due to poor storage habits and lack of play-back equipment (Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub, 2012:207). Furthermore, the absence of a systematic cataloguing system for musical materials by such institutions like the Uganda National Museum has stagnated efforts to archive music and dance in Uganda. No proper systems are provided to enable the search and accessibility of musical materials.

As discussed under section 3.2, what Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2015:34) presents as a "cultural renaissance strategy" relates to the effort by the Ugandan government in the 1960s to confront cultural imperialism as had been practiced by colonial powers throughout the lands they conquered and occupied. Asaasira (2015:182) points out that the independent Ugandan state devised numerous ways to implement the cultural renaissance programme. The government sought traditional values relevant to the contemporary period and also forged a traditionalised national identity. It encouraged the performance of music and dance from different ethnic groups in the country (Kubik, 1966). The promotion and performance of such musics and dances was made possible with the establishment of the Heartbeat of Africa

(HOA). As a state-owned cultural troupe, HOA blended music and dances from different ethnic groups and performed it before tourists. The troupe also staged performances outside the country when it travelled as far as Europe, America and Asia. As *imbalu* rituals are central to the life of the Bagisu, the musics and dances integrated in these ceremonies became some of the items that HOA included in its repertoire (David Tsolobi, interview, December 2014). Kigisu music and dance in this troupe was further enriched when *kadodi*[109] drums were introduced on the *imbalu* circumcision scene in 1968, six years after Uganda had gained political independence.[110]

In addition to HOA, soon after independence, the government established the Uganda Schools' Music and Dance Festivals.[111] These festivals had metamorphosed from Namirembe Church Music Festivals which began in 1929 (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2003:98). Unlike the Namirembe festivals which did not allow traditional folk singing and dancing in church contexts, schools' festivals included these items in their repertoire. As schools were found in every part of the country, they mainly performed musics and dances that 'belonged' to the ethnic groups where they were located.[112] As it is the practice in the contemporary period, school choir trainers researched about the music and dance traditions of different communities for items to present during these festivals (John Mafuko Wazikonya, interview 9th February, 2015). As it was also done when I conducted this study, these performances even motivated some schools to hire community members not only to design costumes and help in choreographing dances, but also to teach students songs that accompany the dances. The festivals were later to become a site for assembling and showcasing such items to the

[109] *Kadodi* is among the dances integrated in *imbalu* circumcision rituals. With its name derived from the set of drums used in the performance of this dance, *kadodi* was introduced in south Bugisu in 1968 (Makwa, 2005:20), having originated from northern Bugisu.

[110] See Khamalwa (2004) and Makwa (2005) on the history of *imbalu* circumcision rituals among the Bagisu.

[111] Kyemba (1997: 60) also shows how the setting up of the Ministry of Culture and Community Development in 1964 fostered the promotion and preservation of the culture of Uganda during early 1960s. It is also important to note that soon after independence; Uganda established a fully-fledged Ministry of Culture and Community Development. However, since 1986, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government has handled culture as a component of the Ministry of Gender and Community Development (MGCD). Under this ministry, the directorate of culture is charged with the responsibility of advocating for culture; community mobilization and promotion of traditional institutions in the country, just to outline some of the salient roles of this department.

[112] In the Bugisu sub-region, musics and dances which are performed during such contexts like *imbalu* circumcision rituals, marriage ceremonies, funeral rites and hunting expeditions formed the repertoire of Schools' Music, Dance and Drama (MDD) festivals. There are also incidences during schools' music festivals where schools 'borrow' music items from other parts of the country and present them during the competitions.

public thus contributing to efforts to archive music and dance materials from communities like the Bagisu.[113]

Other places where Kigisu music and dances were performed during this period included the national theatre and the numerous national functions – especially the independence inaugurations that had become part and parcel of the national programme. Furthermore, the Uganda National Theatre is the centre where performances of different kinds are staged. Despite championing musical performances of different sorts since independence – including schools' Music, Dance and Drama (MDD) competitions – the archives of the performances staged at the National Theatre are not accessible to members of the public. It was until MAKWAA was established in 2009 that music and other oral items of the Bagisu, like other Ugandan communities, became accessible to the public. In the subsection that follows, I discuss the establishment of MAKWAA and the nature of Kigisu music (and dance) housed there.

3.3.3.1 Centralized Preservation of Music and Dance in Uganda: MAKWAA and the Archiving of Kigisu Music and Dance

To establish a central place for archiving music and dance in Uganda was achieved when the Makerere University Klaus Wachsmann Audio-visual Archive (MAKWAA) was launched in 2009. The vision for MAKWAA is to become a centre for collecting, documenting, archiving and disseminating Uganda's musical heritage and other oral materials.

Housed on the ground and first floor of the Makerere University Main Library extension, MAKWAA is named after Klaus Phillip Wachsmann, a German born ethnomusicologist who lived between 1907 and 1984. As Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012:209) have pointed out, when he took up a position in the Education Office of the Anglican Missions in Uganda in early 1940s, Wachsmann developed a great passion for Ugandan traditional music and dance. This interest made him embark on a programme to visit different parts of the country to record and document people's music and dance with a view of preserving it for future generations. Wachsmann's task of collecting these musical materials spread over three years, namely, 1949, 1950 and 1954. He developed a survey methodology which enabled him to go to as many as twenty-five ethnic groups of Uganda out

[113] Even during the contemporary period, one cannot underplay the role of MDD festivals in transmitting and preserving the music and dance among the Bagisu.

of the sixty-five constitutionally recognized ethnic groups, making Wachsmann's collection the most broad. Wachsmann's aim was to come up with recordings that represented the vast musical heritage of the country (Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub, 2012:210). In addition to the musics he recorded, Wachsmann collected photographs, field notes, besides making interviews with individual and group musicians describing the different contexts and music traditions of the communities he recorded.

Although his recordings were housed at the British Library Sound Archive (BLSA), Wachsmann deposited copies of his recordings to the Uganda Museum. His aim was to enable the Ugandan public access these items in future. Despite failing to play this music due to poor storage practices and lack of play-back technology by the Uganda museum, these musical recordings were still in existence at the time Nannyonga-Tamusuza, the co-ordinator of the Ethnomusicology Program at Makerere University (Uganda), and Founder and Curator of MAKWAA, developed the idea of setting up an audio-visual archive at Makerere.

The state in which Nannyonga-Tamusuza found these musical materials at the Uganda National Museum inspired her to think about the possibility of establishing a music archive to act as a centre for the collection, documentation, cataloguing, dissemination and management of the musical heritage of Uganda. After being established, the archive was named after Klaus Wachsmann in recognition of his efforts to record and preserve Uganda's musical materials. According to Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012:214), the mission of MAKWAA is to "build an accessible and sustainable music archive that links Uganda's musical heritage of the past with the present". The archive's vision is to become a leading centre for audio-visual archiving in the East African region where people can access musical materials and be trained on issues related to archiving music, dance and related items.[114]

The launch of MAKWAA was marked by presentation of copies of music recordings in MP3 format from BLSA. In a function that was attended by Janet Topp Fargion[115] at Makerere University's department of Performing Arts and Film (PAF),[116] these recordings formed the initial collections of MAKWAA (Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub, 2012:207). While the transfer of these music recordings marked the beginning of the collaboration

[114] Since its inception in 2009, MAKWAA has been at the fore front in championing workshops on issues of audio-visual archiving in the East African region. One of such workshops involved a project that brought together MAKWAA, *Taasisi ya Sanaa na Utamaduni Bagamoyo (TaSUBa)* and Dhows Country Music Academy (DCMA), the latter two found in Tanzania and Zanzibar respectively.

[115] Janet Topp Fargion was the curator of World and Traditional Music at BLSA during the time MAKWAA was launched in 2009.

[116] PAF was formerly called Music, Dance and Drama – MDD Department.

between MAKWAA and BLSA on issues of music archiving, returning these music materials was seen as a fulfilment of Wachsmann's vision of having the music he recorded accessed and used by the Ugandan public. Besides using these materials in teaching and research, the different communities in Uganda can use them to revive lost traditions.

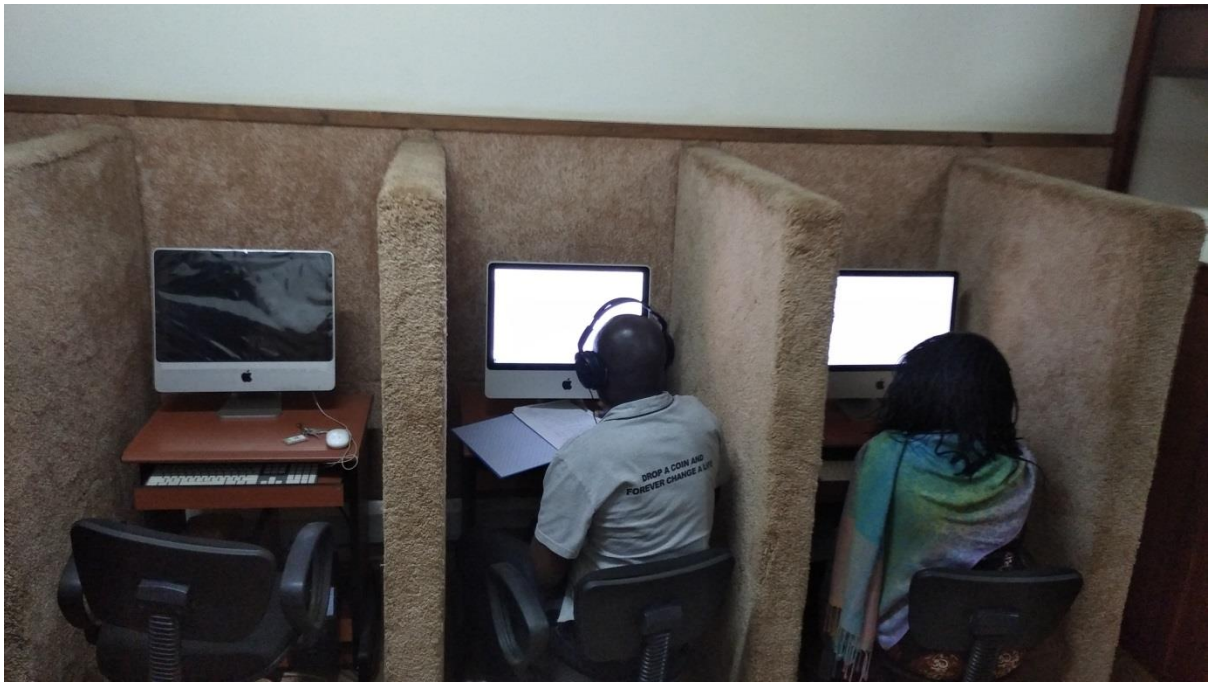
Despite being a relatively young archive, MAKWAA boasts of several collections in its custody. These can be broadly categorised as a) those items that the archive received through donations from other archival institutions outside Uganda and b) material that was brought by the collectors commissioned by the archive itself since 2010. Besides musics and dances recorded by Wachsmann forming the bulky of materials brought from abroad, housed in MAKWAA are also recordings made by Peter Cooke. Cooke started his recording expeditions in Uganda in early 1960s. Apart from being a music educator, performer and ethnomusicologist, Cooke also pioneered the teaching of music at the then Institute of Teacher Education Kyambogo.[117] However, as my study is an investigation of archival practices among contemporary Bagisu with a view to develop a framework for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for music and dance in this community, the discussion of MAKWAA holdings is limited to Kigisu music and dance. I provide insights on how these materials were collected and documented in order to understand the approaches stakeholders have adopted overtime as they archive Kigisu music and dance.

At its inception, accessibility to materials housed in MAKWAA was achieved through a database known as D-Space, which was a Makerere University Library database for depositing and accessing digital material processed by the library. However, MAKWAA was not able to use it since the University server upon which D-Space hinged was too congested. Instead, the archive resorted to a locally networked system where the eight computers were connected to a local server to enhance accessibility and use of the items in its custody. When I went for fieldwork, there were efforts to acquire new software – one that does not only enhance accessibility of material from this archive, but can also ensure that archival items are not taken out of the archive. Needless to mention, material housed in this archive is copyrighted. Using it outside the confines of MAKWAA to make compositions or for commercial purposes demands that the archive and musicians whose music was recorded negotiate new terms.

[117] Institute of Teacher Education Kyambogo was merged with Uganda Polytechnic Kyambogo and Uganda National Institute of Special Needs Education to form Kyambogo University in 2000.

Being a University-based archive, the users of MAKWAA are expected to follow procedures people undergo to access other university services. More so, they are expected to follow the rules and regulations of the Main Library, where MAKWAA is housed. As an archive which is composed of two sections thus 1) the listening area and 2) processing space (where the server is kept); users are only guaranteed access to the listening area. Figure V below shows the listening compartment at MAKWAA.

Figure IV: The Listening Compartments in MAKWAA[118]



As shown in Figure V, computers in MAKWAA are placed in sound-proof cubicles to prevent echoes that may move from one listening compartment to the other.

On the contrary, the processing room has one big mac computer which provides space for downloading field recordings or copies of items received as donations. It is also in this space where items are arranged, processed and documented before they are archived. To ensure archiving for posterity, original copies of archival items are taken to another space with a repository, located on the first floor of the library extension, for custody. Moreover, in this space, there is an extra room housing such equipment like the digitising machine, still and video cameras, extension cables, microphones, a TV set and audio recorders.

[118] This photo was got through courtesy of MAKWAA.

Analysing the nature of musical materials housed in MAKWAA and how they were collected and documented adds insights to an understanding of how music and dance among the Bagisu has been archived and managed at different stages of Uganda's history. However, the focus of this section is to illuminate how MAKWAA has contributed to the preservation of music and dance in Uganda, particularly those musics and dance materials that belong to the Bagisu. As also highlighted in Chapter Six, recordings from MAKWAA have linked some community members, such as musicians, with their dead relatives.

3.3.3.2 Kigisu Music and Dance in the Holdings of MAKWAA

There are two collections of archives on Kigisu music in MAKWAA: the Wachmann Collection and the MAKWAA Collection. Both collections focus on *imbalu* circumcision ritual music although there also archives on music performed during marriage ceremonies, indigenous worship, war situations, among other contexts. These collections have recordings with both individual and group musicians during real and pre-arranged settings.

I came to know about Wachsmann's recordings of the Bagisu music in MAKWAA when I began working with the Archive as an intern music archivist in March 2010. During this time, the archive had asked me, along with three other colleagues (Anita Asaasira, Pamela Mbabazi and Stella Wadiru), to listen to recordings from the Wachsmann's collections, which had been repatriated from BLSA in 2009. Each of us was tasked to listen to the entire collection and identify recordings from our respective ethnic groups. We were asked to write notes explaining what we heard in each of the items identified. This exercise was part of our training to enable us acquire practical skills on how to document a recording in order to give it what I would call a 'more accessible touch'. We were to provide additional notes underscoring the following issues 1) context of performance 2) instrumentation 3) a summary of what the music and dance was about 5) identify the musician performing the music and 5) any other information deemed useful to the user. Providing such details became possible because each of us was not only conversant with the local language, but also had basic knowledge about the music and dance traditions from our areas of origin.

As Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012:212) have observed, Wachsmann use of a survey approach did not allow him enough time to provide detailed documentation of the music he collected. To this end, the supplementary documentation we provided was used to fill in some of the gaps Wachsmann left in his documentation. It is at this time that I came to understand that while there seems to be almost none of the music and dance heritage of the

Bagisu archived 'anywhere', there may be a lot of material that the Bagisu can boast of in different archives, museums and libraries in various parts of the world.

In August 2010, MAKWAA organised outreach activities in Bududa District. As part of the preparation, I went back to the archive and listened to the entire Wachsmann Collection to select the recordings that were recorded from Bududa, particularly Bulucheke, the Sub-county I was born and raised. I was excited to hear some voices in about five recordings mentioning the homes that were found in Makunda Village, in Bumasata Parish (Bulucheke Sub-County). The context of one of the recordings was a spirit worship ritual where someone was being initiated into divination. This ritual is locally known as *khumunjisa bufumu*. Besides this, I heard the voice of the famous Nasila Wakhatala – who is considered a legendry expert on marriage songs in Bulucheke Sub County. Although Nasila had died when I was still very young, some of the old women musicians I had recorded earlier on talked about her and the nature of music she used to perform. These musicians had told me that Nasila used to perform music to accompany marriage and that she had been recorded by some *bazungu* (white people).

Furthermore, I heard a war song by someone who kept mentioning some villages in Bumayoka Sub-county. Before elevating it to sub-county status, Bumayoka was among the parishes making up Bulucheke Sub-County. More so, *Bari Nashombe* (they say it is Nashombe) and *imbalu muliro* (*imbalu* is fire) were among the circumcision songs I heard during my listening sessions at MAKWAA. *Bari Nashombe* and *imbalu muliro* are among the circumcision songs performed when boys are taken to cultural sites,[119] to affirm their lineage connections. Through these songs, *imbalu* is likened to tough things (very tough animal of the jungle) and fire. As I will point out later, the boy is reminded to also become tough so as to undergo the ritual successfully and prepare himself for the tough life that comes after initiation (Makwa, 2012). *Bari Nashombe* and *imbalu muliro* were among the songs I grew up singing especially as I participated in *imbalu* circumcision rituals. All the above recordings formed the list of songs that the MAKWAA team returned to Bududa District. The people who came to listen to these songs approved them as items recorded in their

[119] See Chapters 4 and 5 for details about what I have called cultural sites in this dissertation.

community. This approval was concretised through identifying the voices of the musicians Wachsmann had recorded.[120]

Between April 2010 and December 2012, the archive embarked on creating other material, which form the 'The MAKWAA Collections'. Unlike the recordings made by Wachsmann and Cooke which were donated to this archive, 'The MAKWAA Collections' were a result of the funds mobilised locally by the archive. Despite the need to increase its holdings being the primary aim of coming up with these materials, the motivation for making more recordings can be traced to the gaps identified during the documentation exercise the music archivist interns had done on Wachsmann's collections. MAKWAA was to come up with collections to supplement what early collectors had made. Moreover, the contexts of musicking had changed over the six decades when collectors like Wachsmann made the recordings. In addition to the changing contexts of music-making, most musicians who had performed the songs collected by Wachsmann and Cooke had either died or retired from the vocation of creating and performing music. As such, there was need to make more recordings to beef up those already in the custodianship of MAKWAA. As someone who comes from Bugisu and is fluent in the Lugisu language, I was asked to make recordings from Bugisu sub-region.[121] My first recordings were made in Bududa before I went to Sironko District to record the *imbalu* circumcision rituals.

I collected musics and dances performed as part of folktales, marriage ceremonies, circumcision rituals, church and children music as well as music and dance that accompany funeral rituals. As an indigenous collector, I had the rare opportunity to make recordings about *Dini ya Musambwa* (DM). DM is a traditional religious cult that believes in Masaaba[122] as a black messiah. Members of this religion believe that there will be a time for someone to come and save the black race from the sins of the world and that this person is Masaaba. As they argue, Jesus was a messiah for white people and his teachings have nothing to do with black people. Originating from Western Kenya (Bungoma District) and being closely

[120] Old women, aged about 70 years, had sung marriage songs with Nasila and they were able to recognize her voice when we played the recording.
[121] Sometime in 2011, I went to Bunyoli, a community neighbouring the Bagisu to the South and spent two weeks making music recordings. This was part of my efforts to collect music materials of other communities to be archived by MAKWAA.
[122] See also section 1.1 where I talk about Masaaba as the first Mugisu who introduced *imbalu* circumcision rituals to the Bagisu.

associated with the *mau mau*[123] anticolonial movement, the beliefs and values of this religious sect had put its members on a collision course with the British colonial government in late 1940s. This confrontation led to the arrest of most of the leaders of DM.[124]

Members of DM used to preach against western life styles – education, religion, ways of dressing and even medicine.[125] Moreover, they did not allow any white person to participate in their programmes as whites were considered as exploiters. In fact, this sediment was even prevalent during the period I conducted this study despite being displayed covertly. During the MAKWAA project described above, Clement Namukowa, one of the sect's leaders in Bulucheke Sub-County, allowed me to interact with his group and make music and dance recordings. I made recordings during a burial ceremony of one of their members. Namukowa recognised me as someone from 'his' community, a person who could benefit from the teachings of 'his' religion.[126] He thought I had been brain-washed by the white man's ways, particularly religious practices, and therefore needed the 'salvation' of Masaaba. Finally, to come up what I call 'The Sironko *Imbalu* Recordings' was motivated by the need to articulate the varieties that exist in *imbalu* circumcision rituals in the different parts of Bugisu.[127] To this end, I wanted to have recordings of *imbalu* rituals as performed in other parts of Bugisu to juxtapose with those made from Bududa.

The above discussion demonstrates that musical materials of the Bagisu are among the items collected and housed with MAKWAA. Moreover, one cannot discard the effort of Wachsmann in pioneering the task of archiving the musical and dance heritage of the different ethnic groups in Uganda, including the Bagisu. To say that Wachsmann achieved a lot in his endeavours is to point to how the establishment of MAKWAA was inspired by his

[123] *Mau mau* was an anti-colonial movement established to fight for the independence of Kenya. It was an acronym for *Muzungu Ayende Ulaya Mwafrika Apate Uhuru*. This can be literally translated as the 'white man should return to his country and the African gets independence'.

[124] The circumcision year of 1948 among the Bagisu is called *Musambwa*. This means that during this period, members of DM were arrested allover Bugisu. These people were linked to *mau mau* rebellion in Kenya (see also Khamalwa, 2004:118). Circumcision seasons among the Bagisu are named after social events – famine, war, landslides and some important discoveries.

[125] In contemporary Uganda, the government has continued to warn religious sects that preach against taking children to school and hospitals. This government stance is as a result of some religious sects discouraging people from taking their children to school or for immunization, claiming that engaging in such programmes is tantamount to seeking the worldly Kingdom. This kind of preaching has led to arrests and prosecution of leaders of such religious movements in courts of law.

[126] During our subsequent meetings, Namukowa could preach to me the virtues of this religion in the hope that I could be converted.

[127] Although all the Bagisu follow the same *imbalu* ritual process, performing rituals ranging from visiting relatives (*khuwenza imbalu*), threshing millet (*khukhupaka*), brewing beer (*khukoya*) to operation on the boy's penis among others – there are differences in the nature of *imbalu* music and dance in different parts of Bugisu.

efforts. Music and dance materials recorded and documented by Wachsmann acted as a springboard by MAKWAA to embark on making more recordings and even relying on native collectors to provide more information on items collected. Moreover, it has motivated studies on archiving music and dance in Uganda such as the current research (see also Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2015).

Their achievements notwithstanding, early collectors had some shortcomings as they recorded and archived these cultural materials. As Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012:209) have noted in relation to Wachsmann's methodology, the survey approach he adopted had several limitations. Wachsmann did not have enough time to gather detailed information on the items he collected. Besides, he could not have access to particular ritual performances due to his identity as a *muzungu* (a white person). As a result, he did not record all the musics that represent the identity of a particular community. More so, as was characteristic of other collectors during his time, Wachsmann did not explore the various methods community members usually adopt to archive and manage their musical heritage. Further still, in her analysis of the world and traditional music housed in BLSA, Fargion (2004:451) writes about the equipment Wachmann used to make his recordings as "weighing half a ton and needing the full crew of a ship to transport it." Handling such equipment was cumbersome. Certainly, the collector could not carry it along and easily across mountains, valleys and ridges, which characterise Bududa, to record the performances people in most rural areas stage.

Inspired by Fargion's (2009:452) idea of the "rebalancing effort", which calls for the rededication of energy to develop new approaches and study new areas including documenting urban traditions, this study supplements the efforts of early collectors. It draws on a collaborative approach to investigate archival practices the Bagisu in Bududa District and those living in Mbale Town adopt to archive music and dance. Moreover, using an ethnographic approach which involves living and working with community members, the researcher shares people's experiences and ideas on the musical heritage of the Bagisu to understand the nature of the archive performed by the Bagisu and how it can be improved through working with different stakeholders.

3.4 Conclusion

This Chapter has dealt with the nature of music and dance that the Bagisu boast of, the role this music plays and how different stakeholders have archived/ preserved it since the pre-colonial period. I have also discussed the role of MAKWAA in archiving not only music and dance of Uganda, but also musical materials among the Bagisu.

As I have demonstrated, the Bagisu are endowed with a variety of music and dance which plays a significant role in their society. While there is no apparent institutional involvement in collecting and documenting music and dance archives of the Bagisu, I have presented evidence that indeed the Bagisu have over the years had their own indigenous methods of archiving even before colonialists came to Uganda. Archiving Kigisu music and dance during the early days of independence was motivated by the cultural renaissance strategy, a move geared towards the recapture of indigenous forms of culture, which had been demonised by the colonialists. The Chapter has also demonstrated that the nature of the context during the three eras (pre-colonial, colonial and after independence) influenced the approach adopted to archive Kigisu music and dance. As such, to investigate the conditions under which the Bagisu have lived over the years is to understand how the music and dance of these people have been archived.

Although social events have stood out as the common means of archiving Kigisu music and dance, an examination of the materials housed in numerous conservation centres in Uganda shows that Kigisu music and dance form part of the heritage kept there. Besides the Uganda Museum, visiting MAKWAA shows that musics, dances, folktales and other performative traditions of the Bagisu exist as archived material. Furthermore, although this Chapter demonstrates that musical collections at MAKWAA were recorded by both indigenous and foreign collectors, the latter take an upper hand. Among the foreign collectors, one cannot downplay the role of Wachsmann in championing the collection and preservation of the musical and dance heritage of numerous communities in Uganda, including the Bagisu.

Among the conclusions that come to the fore in this Chapter is that the shortcomings collectors like Wachsmann experienced as they made their recordings should be a lesson for contemporary archivists. In addition to the fact that these colonial collectors did not understand the languages and other cultural values of the communities whose music and

dance they collected, they had limitations in gathering details about the materials collected. These shortcomings should be harnessed to point to new approaches current collectors need to use in archiving and managing musical materials of a community like the Bagisu. Needless to point out, to trace the effort for preservation of music and dance among the Bagisu was to enhance an understanding of the nature of approaches one can adopt to create a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for music and dance during the twenty-first century. Such efforts are intended to illuminate ways the archive of music and dance can be strengthened in this community.

Lastly, this Chapter has revealed that the use of recording technology during the colonial period marked a significant stage in efforts towards archiving musical materials of Uganda, particularly those of the Bagisu. Although other Bagisu still archive their music and dance through ritual performances and other social events, making recordings of these items and housing them with institutions like MAKWAA becomes an important step in the process of archiving music and dance among the Bagisu. Moreover, working collaboratively will add more value for the use of these archives in the future. In the following Chapter, I examine the archival practices prevalent among the Bagisu in Bududa District as a foundation for an understanding of how to create a framework for the more-inclusive postcolonial archive which will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter 4

Ethnography of Archival Practices for Music and Dance among the Bagisu of Bududa District

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter explores the different approaches the Bagisu living in Bududa District adopt to archive music and dance. I examine the processes involved in the creation, showcasing, preservation, dissemination and management of music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa. By examining selected ritual performances, activities of local musicians as well as the efforts of private collectors, I explore the meaning of the concepts of 'archive', 'archivist' and 'archiving' among the Bagisu. Additionally, I investigate the nature and characteristic features of archives among the Bagisu in Bududa. I argue that while there may be no indigenous word used to denote the concepts archive, archivist or archiving in Bududa, archiving is embedded in the day-today activities community members engage in. Apart from the items that some people have collected and kept in their homes, there is also the performance of social events and the activities of local musicians acting as platforms of archiving music and dance. Through discussing these archival practices, I identify the different stakeholders at the centre of archiving music and dance in Bududa District and the role they can play in establishing a more-inclusive postcolonial archive as discussed in Chapter Six.

The discussion in this Chapter is presented in three main sections. The first section is an overview of the socio-economic, cultural, political and religious context of Bududa District. Discussing this context is meant to illuminate how conceptualisations of the archive, archiving and archivist in this community are influenced by the living conditions of the people. Section two, which is further divided into two subsections, examines what I have called community archiving. In the first subsection, I draw on two cases: i) a funeral ritual dance; and ii) *imbalu* circumcision rituals to examine how these performances become sites for the Bagisu in this area to safeguard music and dance. I investigate the role of the various custodians of these social events in archiving music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa. In addition to custodians of the communal events, the Bagisu in Bududa boast of places where particular rituals and their associated musics and dances are performed. Known as

cultural sites in this dissertation, I discuss how these places act as centres for archiving music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa District. In subsection two, I examine how local musicians become a mechanism for creating, safeguarding and transmitting music in Bududa District. In this case, I demonstrate how musicians occupy two positions in society: being creators of the archive as well as the archive itself.

The last section of this Chapter provides a glimpse on how individual members of the community work towards archiving music and dance in Bududa. In this section, I share the experiences of Michael Kisibo, who collects and transmits *imbalu* circumcision music during the performance of *imbalu* ceremonies, not only to highlight the processes and motivation of private individuals to the practice of archiving music and dance in Bududa, but also to illuminate why such people engage in archiving these materials in their community. As I demonstrate in this Chapter, the archival practices adopted by the Bagisu in Bududa District are informed by people's socio-economic, cultural, political and religious context, which is discussed under the following section.

4.2 An Overview of the Context of the Bagisu in Bududa District

Bududa is one of the districts found in eastern Uganda.[128] Mainly inhabited by the Bagisu, Bududa was curved out of Manafwa District in 2005 as part of the GoU's efforts to take 'services' nearer[129] to people. Together with their counterparts from Manafwa, the Bagisu living in Bududa are sometimes categorised as Babuuya, a term derived from the name Mubuuya. This categorisation stems from a Kigisu mythical narrative which explains the origin of the different clans in Bugisu by linking them to some legendry figures.[130] As Khamalwa (2004:20) writes, the Bagisu claim that their forefather was Masaaba.[131] Masaaba is said to have produced three sons – Mwambu, Wanale and Mubuuya – and one daughter,

[128] See also Were's (2010:4) discussions in his article in *The Independent* Magazine where he highlights the physical features of Bududa District. Were also discusses the population density and its relationship with natural resources (especially land) to show how the high population density has precipitated the occurrence of landslides in Bududa.

[129] In Uganda, the notion of taking 'services' nearer to people through dividing and sub-dividing districts, counties, sub-counties, parishes and villages has been criticized by several political commentators and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). Some of these people have looked at this practice as a technique by the NRM government to sub-divide the country for political patronage.

[130] In their works on *imbalu* circumcision rituals, scholars including Khamalwa (2004; 2012) and Makwa (2010; 2012) discuss the origin of the Bagisu and show how the different clans are linked to a common ancestor – Masaaba. See also Wangusa (1989) and Baptist Naleera (2003) for their narratives about the origin of the Bagisu.

[131] See Chapter One, section 1.1 where I explain the terms Bagisu, Mugisu, Bugisu, Gisu (Gishu) and Kigisu. I also explain the origin of the name Masaaba and Masaaba's link to *imbalu* circumcision rituals.

Nakuti. Mwambu is believed to have settled in north Bugisu and became the ancestor of the Bagisu living in the present districts of Sironko and Bulambuli. Wanale went to live in Central Bugisu, becoming the descendant of the Bagisu found in Mbale District. Mubuuya is believed to have occupied the southern parts of Bugisu, becoming the forefather of the Bagisu living in Bududa and Manafwa districts.

Despite having a similar historical background with their counterparts from Manafwa, there is a linguistic difference between the Lugisu dialect spoken in Bududa and the one spoken in other parts of southern Bugisu.[132] It is possible to classify the Lugisu spoken in Bududa as *Lubuuya lwe Bududa* (the *Lubuuya* dialect of Bududa), distinguishing it from the dialect spoken in Manafwa, *Lubuuya lwe Manafwa*. These linguistic differences[133] notwithstanding, the Bagisu living in Bududa engage in similar economic activities as their counterparts in other rural settings of Bugisu. Arabica coffee is still the major cash crop produced in Bududa and this has been fostered by the fertile volcanic soils found there. Moreover, bananas, cassava, potatoes and maize are the main food crops grown in the district. People also keep animals (cattle, goats, sheep and pigs) which are not only used for domestic consumption, but are also sold to supplement incomes from coffee and other agricultural produce. Besides being associated with numerous myths and folktales, the different agricultural activities in Bududa are sources of material for local musicians to compose their songs. Songs like *bulimi* (farming) by Yekosofati Shisoni aka Wabutambi wo Bunakhu and *BCU imoni ye Bamasaaba* (BCU, the eye of the Bamasaaba) by Irene Muzaki and Idi Masaba, depict the economic potentialities of Bududa District and Bugisu sub-region as a whole. In fact, any efforts to archive these songs also translate into efforts to archive the economic activities upon which the above songs are composed.[134]

Although the traditional political organisation that was built around the whims of *bakasa* and *babami be bikuka*[135] is generally on the wane, many Bagisu, including those

[132] These differences even become more distinct as one goes further to central or north Bugisu.

[133] Although this study is not about language, linguistic differences continue to have a profound impact on the nature of music and dance performed among the Bagisu. In spite of the tunes of the songs being largely the same, the texts of Kigisu songs are also related to the dialect of a particular place.

[134] Later in this chapter, I also discuss how the process of archiving musics and dances performed during the various social events is an act of archiving the event during which the musics and dances are performed.

[135] In my study of the role of music and dance in *imbalu* circumcision rituals among the Bagisu, I have mentioned issues related to the political organization of the traditional Kigisu society. I have also highlighted the roles *Bakasa* (sing. *Umukasa*) and *Babami be bikuka* (sing. *Umwami we shikuka*) were expected to perform in society. *Bakasa* denotes chiefs and *babami be bikuka* refer to clan/lineage leaders. For these details, see Makwa, (2005:16). Khamalwa's (2004:73) discussions on the traditional political set up of the Bagisu also bring to the fore the role of *bakasa* and *babami be bikuka*.

living in Bududa, highly value the role of clan leaders even during contemporary times. Their role in arbitrating family and land conflicts, besides mobilising people for communal activities, is as important as it was before the area was 'opened' up for colonial rule.[136] Moreover, being part of the larger Ugandan society, people in Bududa subscribe to the political structure under which the entire country is administered. In line with the 1995 Constitution of Uganda,[137] these people have elected leaders in different offices. Besides the District Executive Committee and the three Members of Parliament (MPs) (the District Woman Representative, MP representing Manjiya and another one for Lutseshe Constituency),[138] there are several committees for women, youth, Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) and elders in the political hierarchy of the district. Despite their minimal contribution (as opposed to traditional leaders), the elected political leaders have also worked towards the promotion and preservation of the music and dance heritage found in the district.[139]

When I went to Bududa for fieldwork in September 2013, there were discussions about the politics of *Bukhungu bwe Baduda Bukusu*. This was a cultural institution associated with the sudden rise of a self-styled cultural leader under the title of *Umukhungu Mukusu.* At that time, Joseph Wash Kanyanya, in his mid-forties, had declared himself the 'king' of Baduda (people from Bududa). To convince residents support him, Kanyanya came up with several theories corroborating the origin of the Bagisu in Bududa. He argued that Baduda are not part of the larger Bagisu community. Instead, Kanyanya postulated that Baduda originated from the Uasin Gishu plateau near Mount Kenya and that they are part of the Bakusu of western Kenya. Moreover, he asserted that they had their distinct political heads,

[136] See subsection 3.3.1 in Chapter Three for more details about pre-colonial Bagisu.

[137] Uganda got independence in 1962. During this time, there was the Independence constitution. This constitution was abrogated in 1966 and replaced with what is commonly known as the Pigeon Hole constitution. Pigeon Hole refers to the fact that when MPs went to parliament, each of them got a copy of this constitution in his/her Pieon Hole with instructions to go and pass it on the floor of parliament. The Pigeon Hole constitution was also known as the Republican constitution. Between 1971 and 1979, Uganda was under Idi Amin's military rule, during which period, the country was run by decree. The constitution under which the country was run when I did fieldwork was promulgated in 1995. Although some of the articles of this constitution have been amended since 2003, one of its provisions has it that leaders should be elected at different levels of government to run the country.

[138] When I went to Bududa for fieldwork in 2013, Bududa was a one county District. Sharing the name with Bududa Sub-County, the District was under the auspices of Manjiya Constituency. The headquarters of Bududa District were located in the premises which used to house Manjiya County administrative offices. However, in July 2015, Manjiya Constituency was further divided into two, with the new constituency taking on the name of Lutseshe.

[139] Whenever the District hosts political leaders from the central government, local musicians are mobilised to perform music and dances to entertain such guests. During *imbalu* inauguration events at Bumutoto Cultural Grounds (BCG) – which also involve the performance of music and dance – politicians from all districts in Bugisu take part in mobilizing community members to participate in these ceremonies. Those politicians from Bududa District mobilise 'their' people to join other Bagisu in inaugurating these rituals. See more discussions on *imbalu* inauguration rituals in Chapter Five.

who inherited power from one another under a traditional institution known as *Ikulubini ye Bamurri*. According to Kanyanya's accounts (as were also quoted in the Ugandan media),[140] between 476 and 1011 AD, the head of this institution was called Bukusu Wanyaanga. Bukusu Wanyaanga is said to have died mysteriously, leaving his son Bukusu Tolokwa Mundu to take over the throne. During his reign that covered the period from 1011 till 1200 AD, Bukusu Tolokwa produced three sons – Masaaba, Nabende and Mukusu.

Kanyanya pointed out that Masaaba became the forefather of Bamasaaba. Nabende and Mukusu were believed to have become the forefathers of Bawanganda and Bakusu, respectively. Of these three clans, the Bakusu are said to have split into two groups – one group remaining in Kenya and the other moving to Uganda and settling in southern Bugisu, particularly Bududa District. Although other Bagisu vehemently dismissed these claims, Kanyanya and his followers stood their ground.[141] They argued that their *bukhungu* institution is not only intended to become another voice through which the people of Bududa can lobby for government services, but also a platform for the promotion and preservation of the cultural heritage of the Bagisu in Bududa. As arguments against and for the *bukhungu* institution took centre stage, local musicians were composing songs about the new 'kingdom'. This scenario points to the potential of the *bukhungu* establishment in becoming a significant platform for the Bagisu in Bududa to create, showcase, transmit, preserve and manage their music and dance.[142]

Before the advent of colonialization and Christianity and the subsequent adoption of foreign religious practices by different communities in Uganda, the Bagisu living in Bududa District, like their counterparts in other parts of Bugisu, worshipped and made sacrifices to their traditional gods (*ba wele*) and ancestors (*basambwa*) (Khamalwa, 2004:22). *Wele Lunya* was considered the supreme god in this community. When Mbiti (1975:44) observes that God has assistants, this idea relates to the worldview of the Bagisu that *Lunya* had other deities to

[140] See for example, Mafabi (2013), in his newspaper article at www.monitor.ac.ug/News/National/storm-brews-over-new-cultural-institution/-/688334/1743878/-/quickez/-/index.html where he writes about the politics of *Bukhungu Bwe Baduda Bukusu*. This article was accessed on 18/03/2014 at 4:00PM.

[141] The scenario in Bududa, as described above, is not an isolated incident in Uganda. Many elites have begun to use cultural issues as a platform to manipulate their accent to political power. The motivation for such manipulations is the financial benefits that the government has attached to cultural offices. Recognised and gazated cultural institutions have their leaders given monthly allowances, a government vehicle (with a paid driver) and security escorts, just to mention a few of these tangible benefits. Heads of cultural institutions are also accorded a lot of respect in their communities.

[142] Initially, I wanted to include this theme in my study. However, considering that most of the would-be participants were not ready to share their views and experiences with me, I had to leave it out. The emergence of the *bukhungu* institution and its role towards archiving music and dance in Bududa District can become an interesting topic for future research as encapsulated in Chapter Seven.

help him in dispensing his duties. Assistance to *Lunya* was either in form of blessing people who did good things or punishing those who went against the moral code of society.[143] From *Wele Maina*, *Wele Wanyanga*, *Wele Lufuutu* and *Wele Nabende* to *Wele Namaganda*, these gods were worshipped in particular spots but in praise of *Lunya*. *Wele Maina*, believed to bring animal wealth (*buyindifu*) by making domestic animals (especially cows) to reproduce, was worshipped in a shrine constructed behind the kitchen. Furthermore, *wele wanyanga* (associated with drought) had his place of abode in rocks, which also became places for worshipping him. Conversely, *Wele Lufuutu,* who was symbolised by the rainbow (*lufuutu*) was worshipped at the river. Naleera (2003) writes that this god was believed to suck the blood of his victims. Among the Bagisu, pregnant women were (and still are) strongly advised to avoid the river especially when it is raining and when the rainbow is forming in the sky.[144]

Besides, *Wele Nabende* was associated with the power of giving people abundant harvests (Naleera, 2003). This deity was appeased by leaving some bananas to ripen and rot from one's banana plantation. Associated with giving births (and sometimes symbolised by a frog or toad), several research participants told me that *wele Namaganda* was worshipped under the pillar of the house.[145] Other deities included *Wele Nabulondela* (who was believed to dwell in bushes),[146] *Wele Murabula* (the one who could give people powers of divination). Some Bagisu believe that *wele murabula* was also worshipped under the pillar of the house - *munzeko*) (Makwa, 2005). Finally, there is *Wele Matsakha*, who is associated with thickets (known in *Lugisu* as *bitsakha*) and these were places where he was worshipped. Mbiti's (1975:11) viewpoint that religious officials are "human keepers of religious heritage" implies that there are different priests (custodians) working to promote religious values in various communities. Some of the roles of custodians of religious practices include leading people during worship and particularly the performance of music and dances that accompany religious functions. These custodians also keep information about the different deities and

[143] See also Naleera (2003) who addresses the question of traditional religious beliefs by discussing the different gods among the Bagisu, as well as highlighting the roles they play in society.

[144] The Bagisu claim that when a pregnant woman crosses or draws water from the river when it is raining and the rainbow is forming in the sky, *wele lufuutu* will drain her blood and this will result into giving birth to an undersized baby. In fact, when a child is born, some Bagisu consult practitioners of indigenous medicine for herbs which are used to bath this child. Such people belief that the mother in question may have crossed the river unknowingly and encountered this deity.

[145] I was told that apart from *Wele Namaganda* who was a female or generally considered a 'she', other deities were males. For example, one could talk about *Wele Maina* as a male god.

[146] One of the beliefs among the Bagisu is that when a person goes to the bush, especially during the dry season, s/he is likely to come face-to-face with *Wele Nabulondela*. This deity is believed to manifest itself in form of a woman with tittered hair and very red eyes.

later pass it over to other members of the community. While many Bagisu in Bududa have converted to Christianity and Islam, some of them still pay allegiance to traditional gods. More so, there are specific people charged with the role of mediating between community members and different gods, especially during the performance of *imbalu* circumcision rituals.[147] Despite some Bagisu in Bududa District still recognising the significance of indigenous religious practices, modern religions have tended to overshadow the former. Sundays are particularly awash with multitudes going for prayers in different churches – the Anglican, Roman Catholic and numerous Pentecostal churches in different parts of the district. Besides, there are several Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) churches. As it has become the norm in other parts of Uganda, different church activities in Bududa are integrated with music and dance.[148]

That the level of urbanisation in Bududa is not so intense does not imply that residents are not exposed to outside influences. An example is the music scene. Going around the district reveals that people do not only play local Kigisu music, but also listen to musics composed by non-Bagisu musicians.[149] These are normally songs composed elsewhere but mediated through technology (cassette tapes, CDs and memory sticks) and are played mainly in trading centres across the district. Other outside influences in this district are in form of foreign languages that the residents speak.[150] Both the government and private institutions have recruited teachers, medical, security and other personnel from different parts of the world and these have not only brought their ways of dressing, food and music, but also languages. I have classified Bududa as a 'rural' area due to the settlement patterns and the nature of economic activities that people engage in. People in Bududa mainly live in clan or lineage clusters, with families tracing origin to a common ancestor usually staying together. Due to this type of settlement, the community has reserved certain central places for the performance of different social events including *imbalu* circumcision rituals and funeral rites. These are also some of the places where members of the community hold communal

[147] During the performance of *imbalu* rituals, the Bagisu evoke ancestors and gods to come and bless candidates. They construct shrines and store there items like food and beer to appease these supernatural beings. For more details about *imbalu* as a religious performance, see La Fontaine (1981); Heald (1999); Khamalwa (2004:144) and Makwa (2010:57-63). (See also Tempels' ideas (1959) on how Africans tend to practice western religions alongside the religions of their ancestors).

[148] Discussions on the place of music and dance as a means of evangelisation are presented by Basoga (2012) in his work on Pentecostal churches in Kampala City. See also Kameli (2012) who deals with the role of music (and dance) in the process of evangelization in the Lutheran church, north-western Tanzania.

[149] It is common to find people playing music composed by Baganda, Basoga, Iteso, Congolese and even Latin American artists in Bududa District.

[150] There are several indigenous Ugandan and foreign languages spoken in Bududa District.

meetings to deliberate on issues of common interest. Moreover, as Keller (1999)[151] has noted in relation to communities dwelling in rural areas, farming is the main economic activity people in Bududa engage in. Moreover, they carry out this activity at subsistence level.[152] In addition to the above factors, the extent to which people in Bududa District are influenced by western technology is not to the level of their counterparts in Mbale Town.

I have demonstrated that people in Bududa District mainly engage in subsistence farming. They grow food crops and rear domestic animals for survival at home. Like people elsewhere, they also engage in religious, political and other social activities. Considering the nature of activities community members perform, it becomes explicit that they are involved in complex processes of creating, showcasing, preserving, transmitting and managing such cultural materials like music and dance. However, do they realise this? How do they conceptualise the archive, archivist and archiving? These are the questions I address in the following section.

4.3 Conceptualising the Archive, Archivist and Archiving among the Bagisu in Bududa District

Four of the seven months for this study were spent in Bududa District interacting with community members. Besides meeting community members in their respective homes, offices or inviting them to the researcher's home, some of my interactions with these people were during communal events. In spite of this, I did not come across words denoting or used to describe the archive, archivist and archiving. This scenario is peculiar considering that when I went to people's homes as the last section of this Chapter demonstrates, I could see that they had amassed substantial amounts of cultural items – musical instruments and regalia used during the performance of such rituals like *imbalu*, twin birth, funeral rites and other communal events. Some residents had even collected songs and photo albums that had captured what happens in society. Moreover, it was common to find local musicians performing music they had composed many years back – songs that recount events related to past regimes as well as incidents like outbreak of diseases and other natural disasters. Needless to say, amassing material objects and boasting of musicians who can recall the incidents and musics they composed in the past are among the efforts demonstrating that

[151] See http://regional.org.au/au/countrytowns/keynote/keller.htm, assessed on November 5, 2014.
[152] See also Mbiti (1975:17) and Halfacree (1993:23) who highlight the lifestyle in a rural context and the different ways of conceptualising the term rural respectively.

community members have mechanisms for the creation, collection, preservation, circulation and management of music and dance.

By examining Muller's (2002) article on Archiving Africanness in sacred song, I underscore the idea that archiving, which is the process of creating, collecting, processing, preserving, circulating (transmitting/disseminating) and managing material is practiced by societies that have "technologies of repetition" and other mechanisms meant to capture and store items for future use (Muller, 2002:409).[153] Muller uses the example of song composition to show that the act of composing a song is an act of collecting and keeping ideas by a musician for his/her future use. Muller's ideas have been developed by Sanga (2014:141) who demonstrates how musical paintings represent an archive where a visual artist articulates, enacts and safeguards his/her ideas for retrieval in future. Based on these viewpoints, I argue that different communities have different systems to archive cultural objects. In Bududa District, one can delineate two main ways the Bagisu perform the archive thus: 1) archiving through performance of social events; and 2) musicians representing both the archive and sites of archiving.

In relation to social events acting as sites of archiving, I argue that these activities either implicitly or explicitly embody the 'archive', 'archivist' and 'archiving'. The social event,[154] which is a public performance that brings people together to celebrate rituals or any other social function, becomes a site for the community to assemble (bring forward or retrieve) what pertains to its past. It also forms a platform during which society 'deposits' into the young generation what is considered useful for the future. Particularly, through these events, society showcases its music and dance so that it is accessed by the public. The season when community members stage a particular social event becomes a moment for the musics and dances integrated with the event to be exhibited and consumed by the public.

Social events or what Taylor (2003: xviii) regards as "embodied performances" are criticised for their ephemeral nature or lacking the "staying power" (Taylor, 2003:5). The idea that social events lack staying power stems from the argument that when music or any

[153] The use of the notion of "technologies of repetition" denotes equipment including still and video cameras, recorders and cassette tapes and their role in capturing and storing material.

[154] Turner (1980:149) regards events especially those involving initiation as "dramas of living". They are rituals performed to mark the birth, initiation or any other event in the community. Among the Bagisu, such events or activities include marriage ceremonies, circumcision rituals, political rallies and any other public gatherings. Staging these events is tantamount to 'musicking' and dancing whatever is celebrated. In other words, since music and dance are integrated in these activities, staging social events is implicitly performing the music and dance integrated in them. See also Small (1998:9), on ideas of musicking.

event is performed, it vanishes the very moment people come out of stage. The musical performance as an entity cannot hold information for society to guarantee the posterity of such data. However, my experience with funeral dancing and *imbalu* circumcision rituals, the two cases analysed for this study, shows that the capturing of social events is realised through two ways, namely: 1) the activities of various custodians who take charge of such functions; and 2) maintenance of Cultural Sites (CSs). CSs are places set aside by the community for the performance of different social events. What I am regarding as the custodians of social events are individuals charged with the responsibility of keeping the regalia used during the performance of rituals or other events in society. These custodians also provide information about the 'dos' and 'don'ts' of the event. In doing this, they implicitly or explicitly open and close the doors to enable community members participate in these activities. Custodians of social events act as community archivists since they also keep information concerning the event on behalf of society, besides looking after the regalia. Because of training people who later take over their responsibilities when they die, such custodians work to ensure that the rituals or activities they preside over are passed on from one generation to another.

The second technique of capturing social events and by extension, the music and dance associated with them, is through the maintenance of sites where these performances are staged. In Bududa District, these places manifest themselves in form of grooves, confluences of rivers, forests and swamps, to mention a few of them. On the surface, these cultural sites are tangible in nature. How then can they be related to music and dance, which are intangible items? Kurin (2004) points out that there are situations where it becomes impossible to separate tangible items from intangible ones. The two are sometimes intertwined. As he writes, the difficulty in distinguishing objects like grooves from what they are actually meant to promote makes "safeguarding most interesting because sometimes the preservation of the tangible and the intangible are intimately conjoined" (Kurin, 2004:70). He gives the example of "textual scripts, costumes, props and stage settings [which became] part and parcel of a performance" (2004:70). These observations serve to underscore my assertions about the preservation of cultural sites as an indirect way of capturing the music and dance that is performed in these places.[155] By safeguarding Namasho as a site where members of the Balutseshe lineage in Bududa District perform *imbalu* circumcision rituals, for example, the

[155] I will return to the discussion on archiving music and dance through preservation of cultural sites in subsection 4.4.2.2.

community consciously or unconsciously archives the musics and dances associated with the events staged there.

As mentioned above, archiving music and dance in Bududa District is not only achieved through social events. Local musicians also act as archives for creating, storing and circulating music in this community. Local musicians draw from topical issues to compose songs which they later circulate in the community during beer parties, political rallies and other contexts. Although they compose and circulate music for purposes of earning a living as discussed under section 4.5, these musicians become objects through which the community keeps its music. To expound on these archival practices, I begin with community archiving and discuss how ritual performances act as sites of archiving music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa.

4.4. Social Events as Sites of Archiving Music and Dance in Bududa District

In the previous section, social events are projected as communal performances staged to celebrate marriage, child birth and initiation of young men/ women into manhood/womanhood. Among the Bagisu, some of these events are activities involving the burial of members of the community. They undergo a process which involves preparations and the actual 'rendition' of the event. More so, despite involving a number of people, the Bagisu put in place specific individuals whose primary role is to regulate the performance of such events. By ensuring that participants follow the right procedures as they engage in rituals or other public performances, these custodians not only showcase important information about society, but also use the occasion to transmit such information from one generation to the other. In the following subsection, I discuss how the funeral ritual dance becomes a platform for archiving music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa District.

4.4.1 Funeral Ritual Dance and the Role of Uwe Ingoma yo mufu in Relaying a Forgotten Tradition

> *Indakano*[156] *yo musakhulu bakhiile khuchipa. Achikana lundi khwakhila khuchimua. Nga umuloosi yo nafa ne balakhukhola byeesi akaana, mwoboona bibyakholikha. Babanu batimaama betsa khufunikha busa? Lundi yino ingabi babaana bengolobe nabo khuboona kumusiro kuno. Mwalimu, wakhiile ubeo uambise.*

[156] The *lugisu* word for an agreement is *ikwangwani*.

> The old man's will must be 'performed'. He requested for it and so we must 'give' it to him. When the other old woman died and her wishes were not respected, you saw what happened. Didn't people run and almost broke themselves for nothing? By the way, this is also a rare occasion for the young generation to witness this ritual. Mwalimu [*Kiswahili*[157] word for teacher], you must be there to capture this! (Comments by Jonah Nyelele during a meeting with members of Bumukonya village on Sunday October 27, 2013).

The day is Sunday 27 October, 2013 and I am on my way from a church function, where a friend had requested me to 'capture' the wedding ceremony of her sister. I receive a phone call from Nyelele, a 41-year old man who had been a contact person during my recording project with MAKWAA in Bududa District. He is calling to inform me to hurry and meet him in a nearby trading centre. Apparently, there was an old man who had died in his village and this man had made a will[158] that a funeral ritual dance must be performed as part of his burial ceremonies.

When I reached the trading centre, where I had been directed, Nyelele was in company of other people – including some members of the deceased's family and a group of sympathizers. They were discussing the funeral of Toti Weleba, the 90-year old man who had just died. Listening to their deliberations, the comments on why the old man deserved a 'decent' burial was reminiscent of the euphoria in the air. Many young men were talking excitedly about the ritual dance which was to accompany Weleba's burial. By interacting with them, it was apparent that if the funeral ritual dance was to be performed, it would become a rare occasion for most youngsters (especially those aged between 15 and 25 years). Most of them were to witness and perhaps learn about a litany of rituals surrounding traditional funeral rites, particularly those ceremonies that are associated with funeral dancing. The knowledge about how people in their society were buried at a particular point in

[157] Kiswahili is a Bantu language which originated from the East African coast. Most of the words in this language are borrowed from other Bantu languages, especially those along the coastal areas of East Africa.

[158] The Bagisu regard the practice of making a will as *khulama*. It is an event during which a person summons members of his/her family, close relatives and even friends to declare the number of children s/he has and the material wealth one has accumulated during his/her lifetime and how one's property should be shared amongst his/her children. Usually done when someone is on the 'threshold of death' ('foreseeing' death), the will is also a platform by someone to choose an heir (*umusikha*), the person who takes care of one's children and property especially if these off springs are still young. Besides declaring to one's relatives the material wealth and how it should be shared, the making of the will is also an occasion for a person to lay down demands on how s/he should be buried. Making demands for certain procedures to be followed during your funeral among the Bagisu is 'choosing' the spot where your grave should be dug, materials to be used for making the grave, whether you should be put in a coffin or direct in the soil and the people who may be 'allowed' to participate in these tasks. Considering the achievements (in terms of the children one had and material wealth amassed), before 1990s, most people, through their wills, demanded that the ritual dance should be part of their funeral rites. In most cases, these demands are met since the Bagisu believe that the spirit of the deceased returns to haunt the living if the latter fail to fulfil what the deceased wanted to be done when s/he dies.

history and the type of people who deserved such burial rites were going to be laid bare before their eyes. They were going to 'see past items coming back' (*khuboona bikhale byakoboole*).

After making phone calls and consulting other relatives, it was agreed that a final meeting should be held at the deceased's home that same night to decide whether a funeral ritual dance should be performed for Weleba or not. After that meeting, the elders decided that those who were able to meet costs[159] associated with dancing should be allowed to go ahead with preparations for the ritual dance. The 'traditionalists' (*be bikhale*) – as I later heard those in favour of the performance of this ritual dance refer to themselves – 'had got it'. Nyelele called to convey the 'good' news to me immediately. I was asked to be on the 'alert'. Hearing sounds of funeral drums on Monday night would be confirmation that those who had advocated for 'dancing' the old man's funeral had got the money and brought the drums.[160] Burial was to take place on Tuesday that week. What I would call the 'protracted' discussions on whether to perform a funeral dance or not emanated from the fact that people had abandoned this ritual for over two decades.[161] However, when the elders pronounced themselves in support of this funeral dance amidst protests from a group of family members who viewed it as backward from the stand point of western religions,[162] I wanted to

[159] Wabuna, a custodian of the funeral drums, told me that one has to pay Ugandan Shillings 30,000 (approximately US $ 12) to hire the drums. However, if someone from one's lineage dies, it is the duty of these custodians to bring the drums for free as a way of mourning that person. In this case, the relatives of the deceased just pay what Wabuna called a 'lowering' fee – small amount of money meant for appreciating the efforts of such custodians to keep and care for the drums. To ensure their safety, people who take charge of these drums tie them to the roof of their houses and must be carefully untied and brought down, whenever they are to be used during a funeral ritual. There are also costs associated with those who play the drums. Besides giving them food and drinks, people who play drums during funeral rituals are paid between 30,000/= and 50,000/= Ugandan shillings. Other costs are in form of hiring rain-makers (paying them a fee) to 'control'/ 'stop' rain. Those who 'control' the rain are also supposed to be given food and drinks by the members of the deceased's family.

[160] Drums played to accompany a funeral ritual dance are usually brought on the eve of burial, at night. They are then played over night, only to be taken to the central place where people of a particular lineage stage their ritual performances, the following day at around 12:00 noon. To play these drums overnight is not only to mourn the deceased, but also inform his/her relatives and friends about the impending burial.

[161] Until early 1990s, the performance of funeral dances, also known as *tsingoma tse bafu* (sing. *ingoma yo mufu*), had become almost a daily occurrence among the Bagisu living in Bududa District. The name *ingoma yo mufu* is derived from two words 1) *ingoma* which denotes drum and 2) *yo mufu*, meaning 'for the dead'. When combined, these two phrases read as the 'drum for the dead'. Before its demise, *ingoma yo mufu* was performed to 'mourn' the death of an elderly person in a given community. Its performance signified that 1) someone had ever produced children 2) if the deceased was a man, performing this ritual dance pointed to the fact that he had been circumcised and 3) the deceased had amassed material wealth during his/her lifetime (Isa Namara during an interview on Tuesday 29, 2013). As such, to say that funeral dances were staged for a select few is to argue that it was a performance for only 'successful' members of society. In Video clip 003, men and women perform a funeral ritual dance in Bumukonya Village, Bumukonya Parish, in the Sub-County of Nakatsi, Bududa District.

[162] The argument that African forms of cultural expression are backward was fundamental in justifying colonial rule in Africa. Among other things, colonialism was seen as an act of bringing 'culture' to primitive and

understand how this community had kept information about funeral dancing for over two decades. Is the community having a mechanism of ensuring that this ritual dance and all the associated materials do not die away? How has society safeguarded the drum rhythms and the dance motifs of *ingoma yo mufu*? Besides understanding the ways through which the Bagisu in Bududa have archived such material, what are the power dynamics at play between the church, elders and other sections of society which led to what I regard as the 'uncovering' of material that would otherwise be seen as profane? These are the questions at the centre of my discussions in subsection 4.4.1.1 below.

4.4.1.1 Relaying Funeral Dancing and Associated Materials

When I reached Bumukonya, together with Nyelele, it dawned unto us that the big drum had been broken. Its skin had been torn.[163] One of the grandchildren of the deceased told us that an "irresponsible man hit and broke the skin". Determined as ever, the organisers of the ritual dance had selected six young men, divided them into three groups and sent them on a drum-searching mission to three different villages. I asked Namara (one of the elders present) why people were determined to get another drum, even at the expense of travelling to far places. Why do they not just proceed with other funeral arrangements and leave out the ritual dance? Despite understanding later that it becomes a taboo for people to interrupt a ritual they have already began, Namara's response underscored the fact that the dance had brought forth rich and interesting materials to the young generation. "This dance will enable these young people to 'see' other related rituals which our community has not witnessed for a long time. Some of these young men [and women] were born when this ritual had long died out" (interview Tuesday 29 October, 2013).

But how will the community remember the procedures followed in performing this ritual dance when it had been abandoned for over two decades? Will people of the current

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uncivilized people. However, when I interacted with people during the performance of the funeral ritual dance in Bumukonya, they questioned the 'logic' behind western philosophies considering that people in their community were engaging in all sorts of evil despite being exposed to western knowledge. From corruption and lack of respect for elders on the part of the youth to human sacrifices, the so-called 'modern' people engage in numerous social ills. Some of my research participants argued for an integration of African and western ways of life. This latter view may have influenced why the funeral ritual dance was performed side by side with gospel music brought by family members who did not subscribe to the idea of staging a funeral ritual dance for the late Weleba.

[163] Some elders told me that in the past, in the event that the skin of the drum got broken during the course of performing this ritual dance, the interpretation was that the deceased had 'refused' the ritual to be performed for him/her. Breaking of the skin of the drum was related to the idea that some family members may decide to stage this dance when the deceased did not approve of such rituals during his/her life time. For the case of the funeral ritual under discussion, Wabuna told me that the fact that he had kept those funeral drums for a long time made them dumb, a condition that caused the breaking of the skin of the big drum.

generation understand the nature of material that this ritual dance retrieves? It was revealed to me that the archiving of material related to *ingoma yo mufu* is done through maintaining a number of custodians and elders who perform specific duties when this ritual dance is staged. Although there is *ulilila mu ngoma tse bafu* (the one who mourns during the performance of funeral dances),[164] my focus in this sub-section is *uwe tsingoma tse bafu* (the custodian of funeral drums). I discuss how this custodian is at the centre of archiving this ritual dance on behalf of the community.

After Weleba's family and other community members had agreed that a funeral ritual dance should be performed because the deceased had asked for it in his will, the next step was to look for Wabuna. Wabuna is the elder charged with the custodianship of funeral drums. Custodianship of funeral drums is a position one inherits from his line of ancestry. According to Wabuna, he inherited this role from his late father. Although he was still alive, he told me that he had also passed on the same role to his eldest son. Despite the son being reluctant to take it on as Wabuna told me, the son had no 'power' to refuse this task since the role is just inherited. A person taking on this role must belong to a lineage associated with the custodianship of these drums. This lineage is also charged with the responsibility of staging the funeral dance on behalf of the community. Asked about the kind of 'power' he had handed over to his son, Wabuna said that it is the 'obligation' of his son to continue keeping the drums which he also inherited from his predecessor. Wabuna also asserted that he had narrated to his son the history of their lineage, especially as regards to the role it is expected to perform in society. The son is expected to 'keep' this history and then pass it over to future generations. Besides, it is this young man's duty to understand the procedures followed when the funeral dance is staged and 'guide' the community whenever the ritual is performed in future.

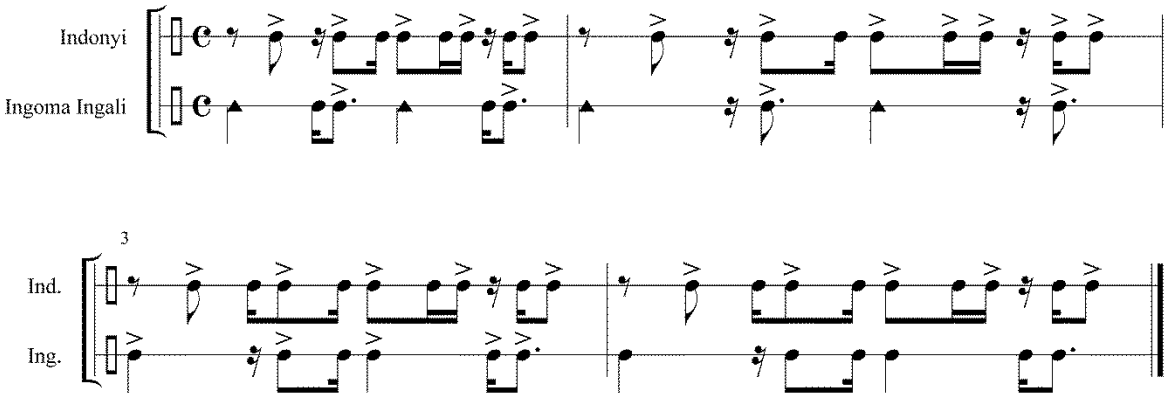
Apart from the above forms of knowledge, the person taking custodianship of the funeral ritual is expected to know the rhythms played on the drums (both the big and medium drum). Finally, the custodian of the funeral ritual dance is expected to know the dance motifs displayed during the ritual's performance.[165] As Wabuna and Kusolo Wamundu told me,

[164] *Ulilila mu ngoma tse bafu* is the singer of funeral dirges among the Bagisu. In most cases, such singers are community members with knowledge about people in the community and what people do. When someone dies, these singers come and lead other community members in song during a funeral ritual dance.

[165] See video Clip 002, where Wabuna, later joined by Damascus Kusolo Wamundu, explains the rhythms played on funeral drums. Wabuna and Wamundu also demonstrate the motifs associated with the funeral dance.

funeral drums 'talk' about the 'opportunity' by the deceased to 'rest' because other people in the community used to talk about him/her that s/he is very old. The medium drum begins this dialogue by saying '*watsyia, watsyia*' (you are going, you are going). Then its big counterpart responds, '*wakhula, abe bakhulooma*' (you are old enough, people were talking about you). Figure VI is a transcription of the rhythms played on both the *indonyi* and *ingoma ngali*, the medium and big drums played during funeral rituals.

Figure VI: Rhythms Played on Funeral Drums among the Bagisu in Bududa District



As this illustration shows, the medium drum takes precedence as it gives the basic melody thus outlining the message. Although this funeral ritual takes its name from the big drum (*ingoma yo mufu*), the big drum only provides the basic beat besides filling the gaps left by the medium one. I have pointed out how the rhythms played on both the medium and big drums talk (through the pitches played on them) about the deceased and how they communicate about how death has relieved him/her from people's complaints that s/he had overstayed his/her life. However, as I have also noted in relation to the *ingoma ye khushebusa* (the reminding drum – see subsection 4.4.2.1), different people may attach different meanings to these rhythms (Makwa, 2010:84). As Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2002) has also noted in relation to musical communication that the meanings attached to any musical piece are the interpretations of the people listening to the music, my interpretations of the rhythms played on these drums are not the only meanings one can get from these rhythms. There are always as many interpretations of the music (song) as there are the listeners and consumers of the

music. Figure VII below is a picture showing funeral drums among the Bagisu in Bududa District.[166]

Figure VII: A Picture of Funeral Drums among the Bagisu in Bududa District[167]

While the custodians of funeral ritual dances also inherit the drums from their predecessors, these drums are normally made (or bought) by such people on behalf of the community. The drums are then hired out to those who need them during the burial of their relatives at a small fee. This fee is usually intended to buy the skin to replace an old one or replacement of wood which may be destroyed by termites or bad weather. The fee is also meant to be a payment for this custodian. In addition to maintaining the drums, these

[166] In other parts of Bugisu, different funeral dances are performed. In Sironko and Bulambuli Districts (north Bugisu), for example, the funeral ritual dance is called *Libandu*. The procedures of performing this dance, integrated music and dance motifs, are different from what is associated with the *ingoma yo mufu* ritual dance.

[167] See also video clip 001 on how these drums are tied on poles to get a better position to play them. Putting funeral drums on poles is also intended to amplify the sound to distant places. This photo was taken by the researcher on Tuesday October 29, 2013 during the performance of a funeral ritual dance in Bumukonya, Bududa District.

custodians liaise with the bereaved family to hire drummers when the deceased's relatives decide to perform the funeral ritual dance.

As a person who had been in charge of these rituals for over 40 years, it was Wabuna who was directing the deceased's family on how to go about with the various ceremonies associated with the funeral ritual. In the morning of the burial day, he had instructed the women preparing to visit the family of the deceased's wife on the routes to use and what was expected of them on reaching there. Before this dance was abandoned, the widow had to visit her place of birth before coming back for the burial of her husband. This practice was meant to affirm that the deceased was a man who related well with his in-laws. It also projected him as a man who had paid bride price[168] for his wife and as someone who got her through 'rightful' procedures.[169] Before the widow could return for the burial of the husband, she would be smeared with cow dung to show the public that her husband paid bride price and that the cows still remaining in the father's household should not die but continue multiplying despite the death of the man who had brought them. While this funeral dance did not elicit all the ceremonies that come with such performances, female relations from the deceased's home visited the family of the widow. The deceased's daughters represented their mother, an old woman aged about 87 years. However, these daughters were not smeared with cow dung when they reached there.[170] Wabuna said that the main aim of visiting the widow's relatives was to re-affirm the strong relationship the deceased had with his in-laws and communicate that the two families should uphold such a relationship even after the death of their in-law.

At the prompting of other community members (see discussion in Chapter Six), Wabuna also described to me the 'post' burial ceremonies, including *khububusa*, *khunyinyaka*, *khukhala kumusiro* and *likoshe*, which must be performed before the widow or widower is reintegrated into society. *Khububusa* denotes the act of flapping the wings of a

[168] A Mugisu man is expected to pay bride price for his wife. The main items are three cows and three goats, a cock, dress for the bride's mother, another dress (normally a long tunic) for the father, a 20-litre jerry can of kerosene, a cock, cooking pan, matchet and a hoe. Some families demand for a dog – which is expected to provide security to the father's household.

[169] In the traditional Kigisu society, a young woman seeking marriage underwent a strict process. First, she had to be 'identified' as a 'potential' wife by a man. After words, the relatives of the girl would pay a visit to the home of the boy to establish whether he had enough land for sustaining his future family or not. Following this visit was the negotiation and payment of bride price by the man's family. Finally, the girl was escorted to her husband's home by her relatives. Marriage entrouges performed music and dance and these artistic forms became conduits for the society to pass over messages to encourage the young couple. A girl who followed these procedures was respected by her relatives and whenever she faced problems, the latter would be ready to support her.

[170] Some of the daughters of the deceased told me that their Christian faith did not 'allow' them to be smeared with cow dung although they had reluctantly accepted to go to their mother's birthplace to represent her.

hen/cock over someone's head. As Wabuna told me, it is a ritual performed the evening of the day of burial as part of the process of 'breaking' the deceased's spirit and stopping it from haunting other family members. To perform this ritual, an elder gets a hen/cock and stands with it in the door way of the deceased's house. The elder then flaps its wings of over the head of every family member or relative of the deceased entering the house. At the end of this exercise, the cock/hen is slaughtered and eaten that very evening.

Khunyinyaka literally means cutting down something. When someone (especially if a man) dies, before the last funeral rites are performed, family members are not allowed to cut bananas and take away the stem. By cutting off only the banana bunch and leaving the leaves and stem in the same place, members from the deceased's family demonstrate that someone from their home has died and has been laying in state just as those banana stems are laying in the garden. After about forty days, family members perform a ritual intended to allow relatives of the deceased to begin going about with their normal routine of work. Besides bringing forward hoes and sprinkling them with local beer, this ritual also involves cutting the banana stems from the different gardens and leaving them to rot. As such, the cutting down of the banana stems symbolises that family members should go about with their day-today activities including working in their gardens.

Conversely, *khukhala kumusiro* literally means 'cutting the ritual'. In the context of funeral rites, upon the death of one's husband, the widow gets a piece of cloth and ties it around her private parts in a way that one wears a pad when she is menstruating. I was told that by 'padding' herself, the widow wants to 'confuse' the spirit of her dead husband, making it 'think' that the wife is menstruating and therefore unfit for any sexual intercourse. In cases where a man lost his wife, he was supposed to pick *indoobe*, which was one of the nickers of the deceased and wear it. This was meant to 'tell' the spirit of the deceased wife that the husband has 'turned' into a 'fellow' woman. This practice was meant to deter this spirit from coming back to him for sexual intercourse. Otherwise, those who lost their partners and failed to observe these practices were haunted by the spirits of the deceased and this did not stop on the widow/widower, it extended to whoever attempted to inherit the widow or the new wife the man attempted to marry. The woman (no one explained to me why men did not do it) or the widow, was supposed to 'cut the ritual' as a means of breaking the sex cycle she had with the dead man. To do this, the widow leaves the deceased's home and goes to a distant place where she meets another lover. This man must be someone she does not intend to meet again in her life. After having sexual intercourse with this new man, she leaves his home very early in the morning, goes to the river to take a cold bath and then

returns to her former husband's home. It is after this incident that she looks for another husband to replace the dead one.

Likoshe (literally denoting ash) is the last ritual performed to mark the end of the mourning period among the Bagisu. It involves 'removing the ash' that had accumulated as a result of people setting up fire to warm themselves during the vigil. After the mourning period, the family organizes a ritual to sweep the compound and collect all the ash which is later thrown away. The ritual climaxes with the slaughtering of an animal (usually a cow, bull, goat or sheep) and asking members of the bereaved family and close relatives to step into its blood to symbolize that the slaughtered animal has been used to 'wash off the ash from their bodies'. Washing off the ash from people's bodies also symbolizes bidding farewell to the deceased so that his/her spirit does not return to haunt the living. After engaging in the practice of stepping in blood, the relatives share the meat and each of them returns to his/her home.

What also motivated me to attend this ritual was the idea that a funeral dance can become a stage for performing the will of the deceased. How does a ritual dance 'perform' the will of the deceased? What happens if people do not honour what the deceased decreed through his/her will? It was Wabuna, together with other elders, who had information pertaining the repercussions of failing to 'dance' one's funeral when the person stipulated it through his/her will. Wabuna played a significant role in convincing the deceased's family to accept staging the funeral dance because he had information about the implications of neglecting the deceased's wishes. Corroborating Nyelele's insistence that the old man's will must be performed, Wabuna and other elders pointed out that the deceased's spirit can come and haunt the living relatives if his will is not respected. They recounted to me an incident involving an old woman who died in the neighbouring village and how her spirit 'caused' bees to tingle mourners because her relatives had gone against her will. I was told that there was an old woman who had made a will that she did not want to be buried at her former husband's home but at the home of her son. However, members of the husband's family decided that since the latter had paid bride price, he had the right to bury his wife. In the process of transporting the body to the husband's home, bees came from nowhere and began prickling mourners. It was not until those carrying the corpse turned to the direction of the home of the deceased's son that the situation normalised. By the time I did fieldwork, this story was so pervasive in Bumukonya that it had become a reference about anything related to why the wishes of the dead should be respected.

Although the performance of this ritual dance was informed by the need to respect the 'wishes' of the deceased, the complex power struggles between different religious sects in Bududa provided an opportunity for members of Bumukonya to stage this ritual. More so, these power struggles are not only experienced in Bududa District, they are inherent throughout Uganda. For more than two decades, mainstream churches – the Roman Catholic and Anglican denominations – face stiff competition over Christians from mushrooming Pentecostal Churches (PCs). Besides adopting new musical styles including the use of popular music to attract and retain members in their church, PCs organise crusades and are generally seen as liberal in terms of how they treat their members. There are incidences where church ministers even preside over burial ceremonies of the members who die before getting baptised.[171] Due to such stances, many people have left traditional churches and flocked to PCs. As such, unlike in the past when the former could easily dismiss members who participated in such ritual performances like funeral dancing, the last ten years have seen these traditional churches relaxing such 'punishments.'

Indeed, when I attended the meeting Nyelele had called me for, one of the issues raised related to how ministers from Busanza Church of Uganda, the church where the late Weleba used to pray from, were going to react if they hear that the family was staging a funeral ritual dance. Will they accept to come and offer their prayers for the deceased? What will be the relationship between the church and the family of the deceased after this burial? Will the church let this family continue to fellowship from there? As a way of preparing themselves against such eventualities, several community members argued that since other religious denominations were there, they would request them to pray for Weleba's soul if ministers from Church of Uganda do not turn up. Moreover, family members who argued for the funeral ritual dance pointed to the possibility of 'switching allegiance' to any of the mushrooming PCs in case the Anglican Church dismisses them.

This scenario re-echoes Foucault's insights on power as already discussed in Chapter One. As Foucault has argued in his works including *History of Sexuality* as well as *Truth and Power*, power is not something that can be monopolised by a single person or institution. Rather, it shifts from person to person or institution to institution depending on the prevailing

[171] Baptism is among the sacraments in the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. In these churches, people who die before baptised are considered pagans. As such, they are not accorded a funeral service where the Church Minister such as a priest or bishop, is the main celebrant.

conditions.[172] Moreover, the argument that those who occupy subordinate positions are passive receivers of whatever those in authority do and say demonstrates that the subordinates do not have agency. Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (1998:8) define agency as the "ability to act or perform an action … [hinging] on the question of whether individuals can freely and autonomously initiate action, or whether the things they do are in some sense determined by the ways in which their identity has been constructed". However, as Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (ibid.) have argued, people who may be seen as occupying subordinate positions always exploit the changing power dynamics to resist the ways the dominant powers in society use to construct them. In spite of doing it implicitly, such people also exploit prevailing conditions to initiate action, to determine how certain issues in society should be addressed.

These views are pertinent in enhancing an understanding of how the Bagisu in Bududa exploited the struggles between the different religious sects in order to perform the burial rituals of a member of their community. Additionally, how did members of this community use this occasion as an opportunity to rethink their lives? During Weleba's funeral ritual dance, the old men and women (especially those aged above 65 years) used the occasion to re-evaluate and affirm their own wills. The comments made by Wabuna during our interview illustrates this affirmation:

> *Buli mbuka mbolela babaana baase eni eshi sheesi ngana. Papa wase andekhela tsingoma. Naye papa weewe atsimulaamila. Waboone, nama mu banu bababiikha tsingoma tse bafu lundi babaramba baboona bari baleela tsingoma khulila babanu bafa mu shikuka. Nga nase nafiile, ngana banu bakhole bario. Ndi khukhubolela, nga bakhungupila ingoma, inzushi yapa babanu nga bali khusikha umuloosi yo, keene ikobole ibakhupe. Nekhoyile indi uli ano lundi bona uli khubiambisa. Wakhile witse ubarelekho bawulile.*
>
> I have always told my children that this is what I want. My father left funeral drums in my care. He had also inherited them from his father. You can see, I come from people whose role has been to keep funeral drums and working to ensure that we provide these drums to 'mourn' those who die in our clan. If I die, this is what I also want people to do. I am telling you, if this dance is not performed during my funeral, the bees which attacked people during the funeral of the other old woman will come and attack them. I am happy that you are here and actually recording this. You have to come and play this to them (interview on Tuesday October 2013).

Wabuna's actions concretise the position twenty-first century archivists should take in society. Archivists need to mitigate community conflicts and stand as advocates on matters of culture. As Fargion & Landau (2012:125) have also argued, achieving a "fairer

[172] See also Miller (2003:35) about Foucault's ideas on power.

ethnomusicology" – a situation where "access to knowledge … [is] facilitated for all" demands that we make responsible recordings that can be easily disseminated in future.[173] Moreover, with changing power dynamics, ethnomusicologists can no longer hold onto their field materials for personal motivations. They should use them to mediate conflicts among cultural heritage communities in future (Seeger, 1996:88). I will return to this debate later in Chapter Six.

That the Bagisu in Bududa District periodically revive some of the old traditions thus re-enacting hidden archives of the community, is demonstrated through the example of *ingoma yo mufu* ritual dance discussed above. However, there are other social events that are performed at regular intervals due to the significant role they play in society. *Imbalu* circumcision rituals fall under this latter category. Like funeral ceremonies, *imbalu* rituals also provide a platform for archiving music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa District. Before examining how *imbalu* rituals act as a site for archiving music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa, I begin my discussion with a general overview on *imbalu* circumcision rituals.

4.4.2 Imbalu: Archiving Music and Dance through Circumcision Rituals in Bududa District

Coming to Bugisu during an even-numbered year (especially the month of August), one cannot miss meeting dancing parties with several adolescent boys wearing bells (*bitsenze*) on their thighs and beads (*bibyuma*) around the chest. As shown in Figure VIII, such boys have a circlet of wood or ivory known as *ikwena* hanging at the forehead; two pieces of round wood (*tsimboko*)[174] (with a hole where boys push their hands) worn above the elbow and neck ties secured on a piece of skin worn round the neck and are suspended along the chest. The boys also have a round metal put round their necks and stripes of skin (*kamakayi*) which are left to dangle along their backs. Such boys also have headgears (*kamalubisi*);[175] belts (*kamakhalala*) and are usually smeared with yeast (*kamamela*) and

[173] For similar views on how ethnomusicologists should work to serve communities; see also Seeger (1986:266; 2004:95).
[174] In other parts of Bugisu, *tsimboko* (singular, *imboko*) are also called *tsipokoto* (singular *ipokoto*).
[175] Headgears (known as *kamalubisi* – singular, *lilubisi*) are made from colobus monkeys. None of the candidates shown in Figure VIII is wearing the head gear. The restrictions GoU has imposed on hunting these monkeys have negatively impacted on the availability of this flamboyant costume from the *imbalu* scene.

sometimes powder, mud (*litosi*) or bulls'/goats' chime (*buuse*).[176] Frequently carrying two sticks (which they beat to the rhythm of the songs performed) or a stick unto which the tip of a bull's tail is fixed, the boys dance and sing as they move along roads and paths in both villages and the streets of Mbale Town (see also Chapter Five).[177] Normally aged between 16 and 22 years, the boys engage in these activities as part of *imbalu* circumcision rituals.[178] Figure VIII shows a group of adolescent boys in their ritual regalia performing *imbalu* circumcision rituals among the Bagisu.

[176]Bulls/he-goats and sometimes sheep are the animals the Bagisu use for sacrifices. Smearing chime of a sacrificed animal (especially of rams, goats and bulls) on an *imbalu* candidate has the symbolism of reproduction. The boy is 'blessed' to marry and produce children after he has undergone the *imbalu* ritual. It is also important to note that since *imbalu* is a ritual performed to initiate boys into manhood, society uses mainly male animals in offering sacrifices during the performance of this ritual. For example, it is mainly he-goats, rams and bulls that are slaughtered for sacrifices. In situations when ritual elders are to wear animal skins, only those skins got from male animals are used. During fieldwork, elders observed that the use of these male animals and items from such animals is intended to show the dominant position men occupy in society, the space the boy is expected to uphold after circumcision.

[177] See Khamalwa (2004:72-73) for more information on the dressing code of *imbalu* candidates.

[178] I have conducted a series of studies on *imbalu* circumcision rituals among the Bagisu: in 2004 as part of the requirements for the award of B.A (Music) Degree of Makerere University; between 2008 and 2009 for the M.A. (Ethnomusicology) programme and 2010 as a project for collecting archival materials for MAKWAA. The scope of this dissertation does not necessitate a description of all the *imbalu* rituals. I will only provide 'captions' of these rituals as a way of illustrating how society uses *imbalu* ritual performance as a site for archiving music and dance. For more details including the nature of music and dance performed, see Makwa (2005; 2010; 2012). See also Khamalwa (2004; 2012).

Figure VIII: Adolescent Boys in Ritual Regalia Performing *Imbalu* Circumcision Rituals[179]

Imbalu is composed of a number of rituals. At the beginning of the even-numbered year, the boy usually announces his candidature to the father and other elders from his lineage. This announcement is meant to inform the father and other elders that he is mature enough to become a man. If the latter establish that he is strong, [180]they allow him to perform *isonja*, a dance staged between January and March. Despite greatly diminishing from the *imbalu* scene, this dance is primarily meant to impart into *imbalu* candidates the skills of dancing and composing songs. The stage that follows *isonja* is known as *khuwentza*

[179] If it was three days before circumcision, such boys would be smeared with yeast, mud or animal chime (chime and mud are smeared on boys on the day of circumcision). The group shown in this picture was heading for the performance of *isonja*, an *imbalu* dance intended to impart dancing and singing skills into the boy. This photo was accessed from https://www.facebook.com/groups/bamasaabatubaana on 15/09/2014.

[180] In the past, elders would assemble and bring the boy forward. Then they pick one of the elders and subject the two of them (boy and elder) to a mock fight. The two 'fighters' were given sticks and asked to fight as other elders scrutinise the boy closely to see how he dodges the blows and also fights the opponent. In this way, the elders could 'tell' whether the boy is 'strong' and 'mature' or not. I was told that in some cases, elders would bring fire and put it on the boy's finger nails or his toe to see if he can 'withstand' it. Crying out was a sign that he cannot manage the challenges that come with manhood and therefore should go back to the mother to continue growing (Makwa, 2012:71).

imbalu/busani (searching for circumcision/manhood). During this time, the boy visits distant relatives, not only to seek for material support, but moral support as well.[181] Towards July, the boy is given millet to thresh and this activity is called *khukhupaka*. This millet is what is used for brewing *busera bwe kumwendo* (beer for the gourd).[182] Circumcision takes place in August, the month of the first food harvests.[183] As a build-up to pen-surgery, which is the operation on his penis (Makwa, 2012:77), the boy undergoes smearing rituals, is taken to special places (known as Cultural Sites in this dissertation) and *ibukhotsa* (the mother's clan) to be 'blessed' by the maternal ancestors. There are also what one would call the 'after operation' rituals, including purification (*khusabisa*)[184] by the circumciser (*umushebi*), being taken into seclusion to nurse the wound, hatching (*khukhuyalula*) and *inemba* ritual dance. *Inemba* is performed to re-integrate the boy into society as a man (Makwa, 2012).

Important to note is that *imbalu* is not only localised to Bududa District. It is a ritual performed by all the Bagisu. By presenting *imbalu* as a site upon which other "superstructures" of society are built, Khamalwa (2004:13) links these rituals to the entire cosmology of the Bagisu. This view implies that *imbalu* is at the centre of constructing the socio-political, religious and economic life of society. Moreover, *imbalu* acts as a platform for performing the gender ideology (roles, relations and identities) besides forming a site for the transmission of social histories and articulation of power relations inherent among the Bagisu.[185] Moreover, all the various stages of the *imbalu* ritual are integrated with music and dance. Not only does the music and dance play a significant role in linking the different

[181] The moral support is considered in terms of the blessings one gets from the relatives. Similarly, as *imbalu* rituals involve items like food for making sacrifices, money for hiring dancing regalia (the items worn by boys in Figure VIII), paying musicians, the circumciser, among other expenses, one needs to get financial/material support from relatives and friends in order to have a successful ritual.

[182] Every clan has a gourd (*kumwendo*/*isanda*) where beer to be sprinkled on *imbalu* candidates during the day of circumcision is put. There is an elder chosen due to the courage he displayed during his circumcision as well as his patient and kind nature to take charge of this gourd. He performs the ritual of *khubiita* (sprinkling beer on *imbalu* candidates) on the day boys are circumcised (see Khamalwa, 2004:68).

[183] The *imbalu* rituals cannot take place unless people have harvested their food crops. Food is used to feed the parties that come to dance and give the candidate company. It is also used in offering sacrifices to ancestors and other supernatural beings.

[184] *Khusabisa* is a ritual where the circumciser brings back the knife he used to cut the boy. He shows it to him while uttering words to the effect that one cannot escape that knife because it is a tool that was handed over to society by ancestors. He then brings a hoe, a matchet, an axe, a spear and fire and tells the boy that as a man, he is expected to use these tools to work for his family. Fire symbolizes a woman – to show that the young man needs to get married so that the wife keeps the home 'warm'.

[185] During the performance of *imbalu*, there are certain aspects of the ritual that are reserved for elders – only circumcised men, who have married and even produced children, especially male children. Women are also not allowed to be at the fore front, especially when the boy is taken for circumcision.

stages of the *imbalu* ritual, these artistic forms also act as tools through which the Bagisu transmit messages about their history, gender hierarchies and all other aspects of life.[186]

In my conceptualisations of social events as archives, the different custodians of such performances as archivists and archiving being processes social events are enacted; this study reveals that *imbalu* is the most dominant site for the Bagisu in Bududa District to archive their music and dance. How does the *imbalu* ritual enhance the archiving of these materials in this community? This is the question I grapple with in the next two subsections. Like in other social events, the various custodians charged with the different stages of *imbalu* act as tools that not only ensure that several rituals associated with *imbalu* are performed according to the traditions, but also make sure that the music and dance associated with the particular aspects of this ritual is kept and later transmitted to future generations. In addition to these custodians, there are also the cultural sites where *imbalu* rituals are performed. Their role in capturing the music and dance integrated in *imbalu* is demonstrated through their role in acting as assembling points for *imbalu* parties from related lineages to perform these rituals. As these materials are assembled, they are showcased to the public and also archived for future generations through *banamyenya* (singular, *namyenya*) and *imbalu* candidates. My discussions in the next subsection begin with archiving music and dance through *imbalu* ritual custodians – particularly, *namyenya* (song leader) and *uwe ingoma ye khushebusa* (the custodian of the reminding drum) – which are the few cases chosen for my illustration.[187]

4.4.2.1 Namyenya and Uwe ngoma ye Khushebusa: Archiving Music and Dance through Custodians of Imbalu Ritual

Under subsection 3.3.1, I discussed how the Bagisu, during the precolonial period, archived music and dance. By giving an overview on the contexts the Bagisu performed music and dance during precolonial times, I highlighted the role of different custodians of music and dance as were integrated in marriage, storytelling and *imbalu* circumcision ceremonies. As also discussed in relation to the funeral ritual dance under subsections 4.4.1

[186] Despite *imbalu* being the major platform for archiving these materials, I do not presuppose that elements of change and the influence of HIV/AIDS have not affected the face of these rituals. As elucidated by Khamalwa in Chapter Six of his book on *imbalu*, education has led to the demise of some phases in the *imbalu* ritual cycle (2004:183-220). In spite of these changes, however, *imbalu* as a ritual that enhances the archiving of songs, dances and other material pertaining to the moral code, gender role definitions, religious, economic and political life of the Bagisu still remains as fundamental as it has been since time immemorial.

[187] There are several custodians in the *imbalu* circumcision cycle. Besides the one in charge of the gourd (*uwe kumwendo/uwe sanda*), smearing rituals (*uwakha*) and the circumciser (*umushebi*), there is *uwe inemba* (the custodian of the *inemba* ritual dance). Besides keeping the *inemba* drums, *uwe inemba* is responsible for those playing the drums and other rituals that accompany *inemba* dance. I have decided to focus on *nanyenya* and *uwe ingoma ye khushebusa* in this dissertation. *Uwe inemba* can be investigated through future research.

and 4.4.1.1, this study has demonstrated how different custodians of social events became conduits through which the community 'preserved' and managed music and dance before the Bagisu experienced colonial rule. The discussion in this subsection is geared towards *namyenya* and *uwe ngoma ye khushebusa* and their continued role in archiving music and dance performed during *imbalu* circumcision rituals.

While there are other experts for musics and dances performed during various social events among the Bagisu, *namyeny*a is generally a person who leads songs during the performance of *imbalu* circumcision rituals. Khamalwa (2004:74) describes this song leader as a

> local poet and historian, adept at composing didactic songs, knowledgeable in the history of the tribe in general, knows the myths and genealogies of different clans, as well as the legends associated with the different heroes … [During the performance of *imbalu* music and dance, *namyenya*] acts as the chief soloist, instructor and master of ceremonies.

To say that these song leaders can be young men aged about 25 years (those who have been recently initiated into manhood) does not imply that old men do not participate in leading songs during the performance of *imbalu* rituals. Most experts of *imbalu* songs are older men, aged between 35 and 75. They are normally members of their own local communities. In other words, *namyenya* is born, raised and circumcised from a specific community. As people who grew up in the same locality, they keep record of the different heroes (even cowards during circumcission) and all those who have contributed to the history of their area and such issues become topics upon which these experts compose songs. As someone who grows up in an environment where *imbalu* rituals are performed, *namyenya* looks, listens and learns about the expectations of society from men and transforms them into song. To use Okpewho's (1992:21) words, *namyenya* gets an "'education' in village [life]" which he also transmits into circumcision candidates.

While *namyenya* may be likened to a "master of ceremonies" (Khamalwa, 2004:74) during the performance of music and dance in all the stages of *imbalu* rituals, his role is more pronounced when boys perform *isonja* dance. *Isonja* is an *imbalu* dance that brings together prospective candidates from related lineages at the beginning of even-numbered years to learn the art of dancing and composing songs. The process of staging *isonja* is quite elaborate. First, candidates come together and discuss the idea of hiring someone to instruct them on *imbalu* dance motifs and the accompanying songs. After coming to a consensus, they

hire *namyenya* and proceed to a central place in their community to be tutored about dance motifs and how to compose songs that they are expected to perform during other stages of the *imbalu* ritual (Makwa, 2010:85).[188] Despite *isonja* having many formations,[189] the basic one is when dancers stand in a circle. *Namyenya* then comes in the middle of this circle to lead songs and instruct candidates on how to dance. Candidates dance while moving in a clockwise direction to imitate how the sun moves round the sky. Such circular movements symbolise the 'normal' trajectory of life.[190]

Although *isonja* is a site for learning new songs and acquiring dancing skills, the performance of this dance is also meant to provide a platform for displaying one's resolve for *imbalu*. As Heald (1982:16) observes, the resolve for *imbalu* is shown through the way the boy dances. The boy must first bend his back and lift the right leg. He then stamps the ground with strength following the rhythm of *namyenya*'s song. As noted above, *isonja* is a site upon which *imbalu* candidates acquire singing and dancing skills. However, examining the activities of *namyenya* and the nature of information transmitted during the performance of this dance shows that *isonja* as an event is tantamount to performing a communal archive. First, *namyenya* himself does not only act as an archivist, but is also an archive of the society since he composes, keeps and transmits songs that recount the history of the community. More so, *isonja* performance becomes a site for showcasing the material *namyenya* has accumulated over time, besides being a platform for disseminating the same material into *imbalu* candidates. These candidates are expected to act as objects that will carry what they receive from *namyenya* pertaining to the past and present situations and keep it for future generations.

Namyenya is generally at the centre of leading candidates in song performance as well as training them on how to dance. However, *uwe ngoma ye khushebusa* (the custodian of the reminding drum) is responsible for keeping and playing the reminding drum. Every clan or

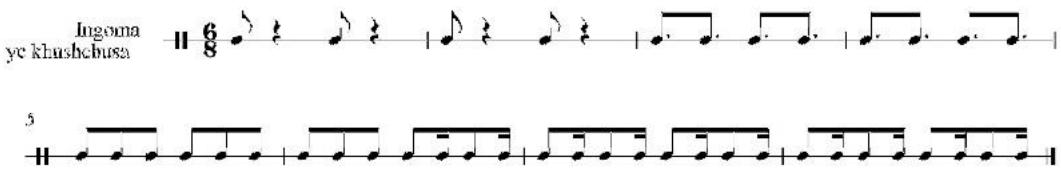
[188] During the different stages of *imbalu* ritual cycle as I have already pointed out, the candidate sings to confirm to the public that he is ready for manhood. Through this singing, which is also known as *khukhubulula*, the candidate is expected to tell onlookers that he is mature and strong, which projects him as 'ripe' for manhood. He is also expected to name his lineage and mention several heroes herein. There are situations where *imbalu* candidates may not be able to sing well and this forces parents of such boys to hire musicians to sing for them.

[189] Performers of *isonja* dance may stand in lines, circles, semi-circles or mass formations. Messages passed through this dance include those related to strength, sex and communal living. Besides communicating specific messages, each of these formations is choreographed to enhance a particular dance motif. For more details on *isonja* dance, see Makwa (2010:85-91).

[190] See video clip 007 where *imbalu* candidates are performing *isonja* dance. In this clip, there are two *namyenyas*, dressed in animal skins (having microphones) who were leading candidates in song.

related lineage has a special drum, about two and half feet long.[191] The drum is played to remind people about particular *imbalu* rituals,[192] especially the need to prepare for the brewing of beer. It also becomes a tool for mobilising communities to prepare and move to meeting places on the day of taking candidates to cultural sites.[193]The basic rhythms played on this drum are generally interpreted as *inywe inywe inywe inywe, kwola kwola kwola kwola, mutima mutima mutima mutima,* which literally translate into English as 'you you you you, it has come, it has come, it has come, has come, run run run run'. Elders told me that the drum reminds *imbalu* candidates that the year for circumcision has come and should therefore prepare themselves for the forthcoming rituals, particularly those performed in cultural sites. Figure IX is a graphical representation of the rhythms played on *ingoma ye khushebusa* among the Bagisu in Bududa District.

Figure IX: Rhythms Played on *Ingoma ye Khushebusa* among the Bagisu in Bududa District



The playing of *ingoma ye khushebusa* follows a well laid pattern. This pattern is meant to re-echo the hierarchies existing between different lineages (clans and sub-clans) in society. The example of the Balutseshe lineage can be used to illustrate how the different lineages are related and how the reminding drum articulates the link between them. According to Paul Wangokho, an elder aged about 85 years, the Balutseshe are people who trace their origin to a man named Lutseshe (interview on Tuesday 20, January 2015).

Wangokho told me that Lutseshe is believed to have produced four sons. These sons, in order of seniority, were Mwakiyu, Mayoka, Masata and Shiyi. These children also had

[191] I was not able to take a picture of this drum since the main activities of *imbalu* rituals of 2014 took place when I was in Stellenbosch. The reminding drum, unlike *kadodi* drums, is only brought out when circumcision rituals are performed.

[192] The reminding drum is also played after the burial of a man who has ever produced male children. In this context, the drum is meant to communicate to the public that the deceased was circumcised and had also sired sons – people who will perpetuate *imbalu* and other communal values.

[193] See also discussion in the next subsection on the playing patterns of the reminding drum on the day candidates are taken to cultural sites.

children, who later expanded and formed four sub-lineages, namely Bawakiyu, Bamayoka, Bamasata and Bashiyi who, by the time of conducting this study, live in areas named after these names – Buwakiyu, Bumayoka, Bumasata and Bushiyi. When the reminding drum is sounded, it begins from Buwakiyu. Buwakiyu is a place where people who believe to have originated from Mwakiyu live. On hearing the sounds, the custodian of the same drum in Bumayoka (from the descendants of Mayoka) beats his to alert his counterpart from Bumasata (whose people trace their origin to Masata). In this lineage of Lutseshe, the sounding of the reminding drum ends in Bushiyi, among the descendants of Shiyi.

Besides following this pattern, the reminding drum is played during particular hours of the day. On the day when people are expected to brew circumcision beer, this drum is first sounded at around 5:00AM, the time most people are believed to be at home. The drum is sounded again at about 10:00AM, the time most people are expected to begin roasting the dough for making the beer. At around 2:00PM, it is played to remind them about the need to mix their roasted dough with water, the activity several research participants regarded as *khutsukhomo* (to pour there). Approximately at 3:00PM, the reminding drum is sounded to alert people about the need to smear candidates with yeast and thereafter take them to assembling points[194] for preparation to proceed to cultural sites. Finally, at about 4:30PM, this drum is sounded as a final signal for people to move to cultural sites where candidates meet their counterparts from other sub-lineages.

Like those who take charge of funeral drums, *uwe ngoma ye khushebusa* is an elder charged with the responsibility of keeping and playing the reminding drum. He inherits this position from his father or any other member of his lineage. What Okpewho (1992) notes in relation to the training and transfer of roles among oral artists in Africa relates to the process of training and inheriting *ingoma ye khushebusa* among the Bagisu in Bududa. Unlike what he calls the 'informal training' where someone merely interacts with society and learns the music (and dance) performed there, situations involving inheritance of items like ritual drums demand that people undergo formal training to enable the learner establish a proper relationship with the person from whom s/he is to take over. As Okpewho (1992: 22) writes, under such situations, the "[type of music] involved is a rather special and complex one. The novice may be understudying his/her father or other close relative, and it may be understood

[194] A group of related lineages is expected to assemble in a particular area before proceeding to places where they are to converge for performance of *imbalu* rituals. These are the places I have referred to as Cultural Sites (CS).

that the novice will take over from the senior person at a later stage." When I met Saul Wesimikha, a 49-year old custodian of the reminding drum in Bweri Village, Bunanzushi Parish in the Sub-County of Bulucheke (Bududa District), he told me that he inherited *ingoma ye khushebusa* from Benedicto Nayele, his uncle.

Although Nayele was not Wesimikha's father, the latter was entrusted with this role because he belonged to the same lineage as the former custodian. Wesimikha told me that he began training for this job when he was a teenager. At that age, he was specifically responsible for ensuring that dry banana leaves, used for drying the drum before being played, were available whenever his uncle prepared to play this drum. His other role was to help his uncle in carrying the drum to the village square, the place where custodians of the reminding drum play this instrument.[195] With time, Wesimikha learnt the rhythms and was finally handed over this role when Nayele retired. As can be inferred from the above discussions, the reminding drum and its custodian are among the ways this community archives its musical materials. By keeping and playing this drum whenever *imbalu* rituals are performed, society ensures that a particular soundscape is safeguarded to remind people about their obligations during the performance of these ceremonies. Not only do those charged with the reminding drum keep a physical object, their activities of playing it participate in disseminating the associated sounds to enable community members re-affirm their lineage or kinship relationships.

I have already discussed how the maintenance of cultural sites is among the approaches the Bagisu in Bududa District adopt to archive the musics and dances associated with several social events. Manifesting themselves in form of confluences of rivers, forests, rocks and even playgrounds, cultural sites are places set aside by people of related lineages for the performance of communal events. Mbiti (1975:141-144) writes that although places of this nature may be created out of consensus among community members, others are consecrated due to myths, legends and religious beliefs associated with certain supernatural forces. Similarly, Kurin (2004:70) reminds us that in spite of looking at preservation in this context as an effort geared towards safeguarding a tangible object, we should understand that there are incidences where the preservation of the tangible translates into the safeguarding of

[195] It is also in this place that *imbalu* candidates from the community and other neighbouring areas converge to perform *isonja* dance. Other rituals like *ingoma yo mufu* are also staged there.

the intangible. The case of Namasho Cultural Site (NCS) confirms this viewpoint. NCS[196] in Bududa District is a centre for assembling and showcasing music and dance performed during *imbalu* circumcision rituals. As such, safeguarding this area is an explicit means of safeguarding the music and dance staged there during the performance of *imbalu* circumcision rituals. In the following subsection, I discuss how NCS becomes a platform for the different lineages in Bulucheke, Bushiyi, Bumayoka and Bukalasi to showcase their musics and dances during the performance of social events, especially *imbalu* circumcision rituals.

4.4.2.2 Archiving Music and Dance through Preservation of Cultural Sites: The Case of Namasho

With the history of its inception still remaining a mystery even among the Bagisu in Bududa, NCS is located in Bulucheke Sub-County, Bududa District, about 45KMs from Mbale Town. This cultural site is situated between rivers Manafwa and Ukha. According to Benayo Mukhwana, an elder from Bituwa Village in Bumasata Parish, Bulucheke Sub County (Bududa District), the confluence where these two rivers meet was a spot where the community members used to perform such rituals like pouring of final remains of the *shikongo* cleansing ritual[197] (interview Saturday 14, February 2015). Namasho was also an area where people threw potent fetishes of medicine men and women after their death. More so, the mythical narratives I gathered from several elders indicate that Namasho acted as a ground where warring parties met to face each other in fights during the inter-clan wars. Furthermore, before part of Namasho was submerged by the El Nino rains of October 1997, the place was a centre where people could take their cattle for watering and drinking the salty waters found there.

[196] There are other cultural sites including Nalufutu (Bukigai Sub-County) and Iyerakha (Bushika Sub-County), Bududa District, where people congregate to perform *imbalu* and other rituals.

[197] I was told that *shikongo* ritual dance was performed by people in a specific community after numerous women failing to produce children. After consulting a diviner and confirming that *kimisambwa* (spirits) are responsible for the barrenness of those women, the people are asked to perform *shikongo* as a means of appeasing these spirits. This ritual involved hiring drums and medicine men from a clan charged with *shikongo* performances. Then, the organisers get a ram and invite relatives from wherever they may be staying. They come together and perform the music throughout the night. The following day at around 10:00AM, they go to a groove known for medicine related to reproduction to gather *Kamasuntsu*, a type of creeping grass which they tie round the forehead. *Kamasuntsu* are also associated with virility. From the groove, they come back where the dance is staged and later run to the confluence of the river where they slaughter the ram and throw the medicine there. However, during the night, people drink alcohol and are believed to indulge in sexual intercourse to symbolize reproduction. Besides the influence of western religions, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS has also been responsible for the demise of the *shikongo* ritual dance among the Bagisu.

On an ordinary day, Namasho is a silent place. Although the owners of plots in the nearby swamps had planted trees when I went there during fieldwork, there is one section of the area that is kept bushy all the time. This place is where the sacred swamp is located. On 'normal' days, this thicket (whose picture is shown in Figure X) is as quiet as any bush. I was told by elders that despite being located in 'someone's' garden, this thicket is never cut until the morning of the circumcision day. On this day, the *umulongi* (custodian of the sacred swamp) creates a path *imbalu* candidates pass to access the sacred swamp for smearing rituals. Michael Wanambwa, a 52-year old resident of Bulucheke Sub County, claimed that there is a mysterious wild bird (*khanyunyi khamusuru*) that lives inside this bush. Wanambwa also told me that the wild bird always hatches (*khukwalula*) on circumcision day (interview Friday 13 February, 2015). The *umulongi* is the only person mandated to check to see this bird, which is usually found on *khutoosi* (on top of the sacred swamp), with its young ones. As a bird associated with a ritual, it is believed that it does not fly away upon seeing the custodian of this swamp. It just flaps its wings and stays there until the *umulongi* picks and puts it in another section of the bush. The hatching of this bird symbolises good luck for the boys to be circumcised that year. Members of this community believe that when the mysterious bird hatches on the day their children are circumcised, these boys stand firmly during the operation and that they become successful people thereafter.[198]

[198] Production of children after one's circumcision is one of the tenets defining success among the Bagisu.

Figure X: Bush believed to be Housing the Sacred Swamp at Namasho Cultural Site[199]

While grazing of cattle and bull fighting[200] were still ongoing by the time of conducting this study, Namasho is generally famous as a singing and dancing ground for *imbalu* parties during the year of circumcision. Indeed, to say that Namasho has become synonymous with *imbalu* is to argue that other rituals that used to be performed there are a thing of the past. It is at Namasho that the Bagisu in Bududa District archive music and dance, especially as it relates to *imbalu* circumcision rituals. As already pointed out, to understand how this place acts as an archive for this community, I draw on Kurin's (2004) insights about the intertwining nature of tangible and intangible cultural materials. I argue that preserving Namasho as a centre for *imbalu* rituals explicitly translates into archiving *imbalu* musics and dances performed there. By various lineages belonging to Lutseshe congregating in Namasho to perform *imbalu* music and dance, this place becomes a site for assembling and showcasing these musics to members of the public. Every period *imbalu* rituals are performed; people congregate in NCS, making it a place for the Balutseshe to

[199] It is unheard of to find people conducting any activity inside this bush. On the morning of circumcision day, the custodian of the sacred swamp creates a path for people to access this swamp for final smearing rituals. Photo by the fieldworker on Friday 13 February, 2015.

[200] Bull fighting is an activity during which members of the community bring bulls together and incite them to fight. Sometimes, there is betting, where individuals with bulls bring money so that the owner of the winning bull takes it. On days when this activity takes place (especially on Saturdays); many spectators come to Namasho to watch bulls fight.

access music and dance that the different members of the community create. Moreover, when *imbalu* candidates gather in Namasho to dance and sing about their ancestors, the place becomes a centre for collecting songs articulating people's histories and kinship relationships. The place is also a centre for keeping the lyrics of the song *khanyunyi khamusuru khalule* (the wild bird has hatched),[201] which is sang at the circumcision courtyard after the successful operation of the *imbalu* candidate. Through these performances, memories of the past are evoked since people sing about important personalities of the past from their lineages and sub-lineages (Taylor, 2003).

My discussions on the reminding drum have demonstrated that *imbalu* rituals are also a platform for the Bagisu to articulate and re-affirm their lineage connections. In addition to the sounding of the reminding drum and how it participates in archiving the music (and dance) of this community, the processions by different groups to Namasho and their eventual staging of music and dances at this cultural site symbolises the performance of a music archive with material related to the lineages that congregate there. While *imbalu* takes a full year, candidates from the Balutseshe lineage are taken to Namasho on two separate occasions – on the day of brewing beer (*khukoya*) and the day they are circumcised. Three days before the circumcision day, boys brew beer in a ritual known as *khukoya*. At around noon on this day, they are given pots which they put on their bare heads[202] and run to the stream. Accompanied by their relatives, they draw water, carry it back home and pour in a pot containing roasted dough (*tsimuma*). The father or an elder chosen by the community to be in charge of *imbalu* brewing ceremonies adds more water and takes the pot to the house.

At about 4:00PM, the boys are smeared with yeast, after which they are taken to a central place where boys from related lineages are expected to assemble. When the boys from the different sub-lineages have assembled, they begin the procession to Namasho. This procession follows a specific sequence. Members from sub-lineages considered to have originated from the elder brothers come in front and those from younger brothers follow closely. There are also candidates from sub-lineages considered as *bamuri* (people who are believed to have 'migrated' from elsewhere and merely settled in certain parts of Bududa). This latter group always comes after the 'bonifide' members of the different lineages have already moved in front. These categories are maintained throughout this procession. Figure

[201] See transcription of this song in Figure XIII.
[202] See Khamalwa (2004) and Makwa (2005; 2010; 2012) for symbolisms of *imbalu* rituals.

XI below shows an encounter between the elders from two related sub-lineages during their procession to NCS.

Figure XI: An Encounter of Elders from Related Sub-lineages on their way to Namasho Cultural Site[203]

Namasho is a centre that brings together lineages from one man – Lutseshe – and all the people that congregate there are known as Balutseshe (those belonging to Lutseshe). As the different groups approach this cultural site, each stops at a short distance to establish whether people from the most senior sub-lineage has entered the place or not. These are normally the Bawakiyu from Bubiita Sub-County. Bawakiyu must lead the way, since their ancestors are believed to have been the elder children of Lutsekhe. If the elders from this sub-lineage have not arrived, everybody is expected to stand and wait for them. In the event that an unauthorised sub-lineage goes forward first, such a group is fined with a ram and a pot of beer for making cleansing sacrifices. This unauthorised group is believed to defile the place if they go there before those mandated to be at the front 'open' it up for *imbalu* performances. Otherwise, if the normal procedures are followed, those entering Namasho first run up to the confluence of Manafwa and Ukha rivers, before coming to stage musics and dances in the playground overlooking Bulucheke Secondary School as shown in Figure XII below.

[203] Elders wear skins of bulls and each sub-lineage has an elder in charge of the gourd. Each of the gourd-bearing elders drinks some of the beer from the gourd, holds it in the mouth and then blows it to the people on the opposite side. Then, the elder from the sub-lineage considered to be senior leads the way as others follow. This photo was taken by Khafu Lutala on Wednesday September 1, 2014.

Figure XII: People Performing *Imbalu* Music and Dance at Namasho Cultural Site[204]

On the day of circumcision, the candidates returning from their maternal relatives[205] first go to Namasho before proceeding for pen-surgery, the ritual during which the fore skin from the penis is cut. As they move from *ibukhotsa* (the place where one's mother was born), boys first congregate in a central place and are later led by the elders to this cultural site. The same pattern observed while coming to this site on the day of brewing beer is followed on the circumcision day. However, unlike on the first day, on the day of circumcision, candidates are led directly to the sacred swamp (*mutosi*). At the swamp, the *umulongi* smears them with clay while evoking final blessings from circumcision spirits before these candidates return to their homes for circumcision.[206]

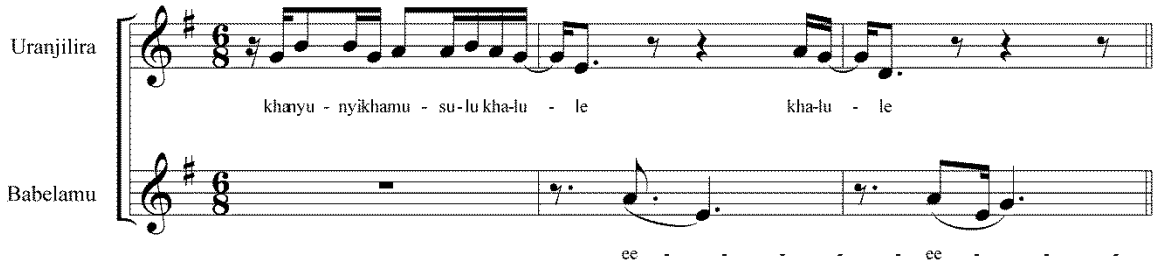
[204] As shown in the picture, young men have smeared themselves with mud (*litosi*) and are dancing at NCS in Bulucheke Sub-county (Bududa District). The ecstasy associated with such groups is seen in their efforts to smear on-lookers with mud, which sometimes results into fights. Photo courtesy of Khafu Lutalo. Khafu took this photo on Monday September 1, 2014.

[205] On the morning of the circumcision day, the *imbalu* candidate visits the maternal relatives to get the blessings from the mother's kinsmen before being circumcised. He usually goes to the home of the mother's brother, particularly the one who took the mother's brideprice and is given *iyebuwana*, the latter denoting a cow, bull, goat or he-goat the boy's maternal uncle gives him. The maternal uncles, then lead him for circumcision, but have to first take him to the sacred swamp to be smeared with mud (*litosi*) before being taken for the operation in his paternal home (for more discussions on this issue, see Makwa, 2010: 118-120).

[206] It is important to note that not all the people from the sub-lineages mentioned above are supposed to be smeared with the soil from this swamp: there are those referred to as *Bakuuwa*, who just go and stand near the

At Namasho, the various sub-lineages that congregate there perform music and several circumcision dances. *Imbalu* candidates from different places, led by their own song leaders (*banamyenya*) sing songs covering several topics: from natural disasters and famine, war to marriage. Sometimes, they sing to praise their parents and clan leaders. However, the most prevalent subject is the praise of their sub-lineage, which comes from the heroes associated with their ancestries. Then these candidates sing about what they are aspiring for – articulating to the public the roles of men in society and why they think they are ready for manhood. On the day of circumcision, the custodian of the sacred swamp opens it up for circumcision parties to 'acquire' lyrics of the song about the wild bird, which is added to the repertoire of the music performed on this day. While the song *khanyunyi khamusuru khalule* (the wild bird has hatched) (see Figure XIII for illustration) is performed after the successful operation on the boy's penis, the singing of this song is done in remembrance of the rituals performed at the sacred swamp. As such, the sacred bush becomes a place not only for housing the swamp and the wild bird, but also a site where people 'find' the song about this bird and 'carry' it to the circumcision courtyard. Consequently, preserving this bush translates into archiving the song about the wild bird. Figure XIII is a transcription of the song *khanyunyi khamusuru khalule* (the wild bird has hatched).

Figure XIII: Graphical Representation of the Song *Khanyunyi Khamusuru Khalule* (the Wild Bird has Hatched)



Like other Kigisu songs that are performed by more than one person, the song *khanyunyi khamusuru khalule* is in question and answer style. More so, it is usually performed by women after the successful operation of the *imbalu* candidate. As Makwa

swamp and merely get blessings from the custodian of the swamp. Research participants told me that in the past, the *Bakuuwa* took their children for smearing rituals at Namasho and when they returned home for circumcision, all the children died. Since that time, the Bakuuwa stopped smearing their children with mud during *imbalu* rituals.

(2010) has pointed out, the Bagisu construct women as physically and emotionally weak and fearful people who cannot be at the fore front when the boy is taken for circumcision. Women are expected to keep in the house, only to come out with songs of praise when the boy stands firmly during the operation. By singing *khanyunyi khamusuru khalule*, these women affirm the myths of the sacred swamp, also communicating to the public that the young man will be successful in life. Some research participants told me that singing this song at this moment is a means through which women 'advertise' themselves to the initiate. In this context, to advertise oneself is to explicitly or implicitly tell the young man that 'here I am, you are now a man, someone who is mature and strong enough to get married and here I am, ready for you'!

Besides congregating to perform music as I have already pointed out, Namasho is a centre for showcasing the different musical instruments and cultural artefacts that people from the aforementioned places possess. From drums to horns of different types and sizes, flutes to percussions, Namasho collects numerous instruments. There are also artefacts to showcase what has been kept in people's homes. Although some of these items represent the cultural diversity of contemporary Bagisu, most of them communicate historical narratives about the community. The items bring out memories about past wars, migrations, famine, to mention a few of these incidences. In Figure XIV, a woman displays a cultural artefact at NCS during the *imbalu* rituals of 2014.

Figure XIV: A woman Displaying a Cultural Artefact at Namasho[207]

As the activities performed at this site show, Namasho is not only an archival centre for the Bagisu in Bududa to play out their 'lineage matrices', but also a place for bringing forward their cultural objects, especially music, dance and other artefacts. Community members re-affirm the power relations inherent in their sub-lineages; communicate their genealogies and histories through song and dance. It is at Namasho that one can 'see' senior members of society, especially as they make processions to this place. As these hierarchies are maintained, however, there are also certain scenes where the elders and young generation freely mix as they dance and perform music. This latter idea reaffirms the role of ritual in not only relaxing the moral code of society (Wa Thiong'o, 1965: 45), but also collapsing the boundaries between different categories of people. Despite the activities performed in Namasho 'going off' the stage as soon as *imbalu* rituals for the year in question are over, the mere fact that this site is set aside for such performances is an indication that the musics and dances staged there are informally safeguarded for future generations.

[207] Such artefacts are very common at Namasho. People do not display only instruments and other artefacts, but also show some animals – monkeys, snakes, chameleons, and tortoise. Photo used courtesy of Khafu Lutalo. The picture was taken by Khafu on Monday 1 September, 2014 at Namasho.

As these activities are performed and showcased at Namasho illustrate, the Bagisu society uses *imbalu* rituals to archive significant materials that point to its history, cultural identity and the way it is structured. However, although *imbalu* rituals are always acting as a platform for preserving music and dance, archiving these materials among the Bagisu in Bududa District is also achieved through the activities of local musicians. This is what I discuss in the section that follows.

4.5 Role of Musicians in Archiving Music in Bududa District

> *Khuba umuumbi nikhwo khulolelela bikholikha mushisintsa showo. Khuli busa nga bibyuma bibikhala byofasa shilikho shikholikha mushisinza nio khwakhola kyimyenya chefe. Nga khutsia khukhuumba, khusheenga mu byeesi khuli nabyo khwareela kyimyenya chichakhiila*
>
> To be a musician is to keep 'watch' over your community. We are like machines which keep monitoring what is happening in society to make our songs. When we go to perform, we check our 'records' and bring out the most relevant songs (Yekosofati Shisoni aka Wabutambi wo Bunakhu, during an interview on Monday 30 September, 2013).
>
> "A village without music or that [which] neglects community drumming is dead" (Aluede & Okunado, 2014:173).

That local musicians are at the centre of creating, collecting, keeping (storing) and transmitting music in Bududa District is captured through the above statement by Yekosofati Shisoni (whose stage name was Wabutambi wo Bunakhu) and the quote from Akuede & Okunado's (2014) article on the role of musicians in contemporary African societies. Together with his colleague Samwiri Murami (whose stage name was Makutyula), Wabutambi was referring to a 1976 incident where a group of young men waylaid an old woman and gang raped her. Although Wabutambi was not at the scene, other people looked for him to give him the story so that he could put (store) it in song for circulation to other people in future. He eventually came up with the song *babana bafubukha* (the youths).[208] In addition to the ability to monitor what is happening in society to get topics for their compositions, Wabutambi underscored the view that the context musicians find themselves always dictates that they search their records - *khukhusheenga mu byeesi bali nabyo* (to look

[208] In the song *babaana bafubukha* (the youths), Wabutambi advises young men to avoid bad company and situations that make them engage in sex with old women. His message is that because society expects every young man and woman to have children, how can one achieve this if s/he is bend on engaging in sex with old women/men?

through what they have accumulated) for the most 'appropriate' song. Checking through one's records for songs to be performed during certain contexts enables musicians to communicate a specific message to a particular group of people. The beer parties, political rallies and school settings calling for different songs as these situations attract different audiences.[209]

However, although the incident Wabutambi narrated above shows that some members of society assist musicians to get topics for their compositions thus leading to the creation of songs that also archive such incidents, my interaction with musicians shows that these artists always monitor what happens in society to get topics for the creation of music. By composing songs which they later perform during several social events to earn a living, musicians informally create, keep and transmit substantial amounts of music among the Bagisu in Bududa. Through their compositions, musicians hold a lot of musical material about their particular villages which detail several incidents that happened through history. In other words, whenever a musician moves around his village, community members see a music archive 'moving' around, not only collecting new materials to compose songs on what is happening, but also disseminating what they have already accumulated. To illustrate my assertions, I use the example of Wabutambi[210] to demonstrate how he has accumulated musical materials about his community through his compositions. Similarly, I discuss how his performance contexts have become a platform for showcasing the musics he has accumulated. By performing such musics, Wabutambi recounts the history of his community, thus, as Siapno (2013:439) has noted in relation to Timor-Leste in Southeast Asia, becoming an archive through which people in Bududa District can access their past experiences in song form.

Wabutambi was a 70-year old musician playing on a guitar when I interacted with him in September 2013. He was a third born child in a family of five siblings, the children of Mitso Weanga and Pelenuka Nandutu in Bumalaka Village, Bumasata Parish, Bulucheke

[209] Wabutambi's assertions on the relationship between performance context and the nature of music and dance played resonate with Okpewho's (1992:25) view that the "content and qualities of certain texts" are dependent on the kind of people who will consume the material being prepared by the oral artist.

[210] While I draw on the interviews I had with Wabutambi during the period I conducted this study, my engagement with this musician dates back to the year 2006. At that time, Wabutambi was one of the musicians I interviewed in a study to investigate the music genres composed and performed by Bagisu popular musicians. When I worked with MAKWAA, Wabutambi was among the musicians I recorded. During the MAKWAA repatriation project of August 2010, Wabutambi was very instrumental in identifying the musicians captured in Wachsmann's recordings as were played to community members in Bituwa village, Bumasata Parish in the Sub-County of Bulucheke, Bududa District.

Sub-County (Bududa District). He told me that his music career began in Mid-1960s, when he started playing shakers (*tsisaasi*) as part of a small village ensemble. He later learnt playing the guitar and composed a number of songs covering several topical issues. Examining the songs he has composed over the years, it becomes plausible to argue that Wabutambi represents a huge archive containing substantial amounts of musical materials which articulate the history of his community.

By the time I met him for this study, the songs he had composed included *Wabutambi wo Bunakha* (Wabutambi, the son of the poor one), *umukumba natangwali* (the barren woman), *babaana bafubukha* (the youths) and *nanyoola Musa wafa* (I found Musa dead). Other songs include *kumwakha isanvu mumukaga* (the year 1976), *Natoolo* (Natoolo), *inywe mumunywa waragi* (you who take waragi [local beer]), *liswa* (land), *Mayamba wo Masaare* (Mayamba son of Masaare) and *yeba khale kho* (it was long time ago). There were other compositions including *ingulurwe ye Bushiyi* (the landslide of Bushiyi), *bubwoba bushisaali* (mushrooms from the forest), *silimu* (HIV/AIDS) and *ingulurwe ye Nametsi* (the landslide of Nametsi).[211] As the titles of these songs suggest, it becomes apparent that as they engage in their day-to-day activities, musicians pick on several incidences and turn them into songs. They keep these songs in their minds and perform them to people during situations of marriage, politics and entertainment. As a result, musicians do not only create songs, but also participate in archiving the incidents upon which the songs are created. Below is an account of the incidences which motivated Wabutambi to create some of his songs.

Uganda has experienced a number of political upheavals since gaining political independence in 1962. Despite this, several writers assert that the period between 1966 and 1979 is one of the 'darkest' moments in the country's history.[212]First, the year 1966 witnessed a military confrontation between Buganda kingdom and the central government, an incident which did not only culminate into the abolition of kingdoms, but also led to the fleeing of Kabaka Mutesa II from Uganda and his eventual death from the United Kingdom (Kyemba, 1997). In 1971, Idi Amin Dada overthrew President Milton Obote and ruled the country through decree till 1979 (Isabirye & Ssewakiryanga, 2006). During the regime of Idi

[211] In Video clip 004, Samuel Murami (a.k.m Makutyula – with shakers), Dominic Makwa (centre – but later moves away) and Yekosofati Shisoni (a.k.a Wabutambi wo Bunakhu) in an interview. Later, they perform the song *liswa* (land).

[212] See for example Kyemba (1997); Museveni (1997) and Ssewakiryanga & Isabirye (2006) for more details on the history of Uganda.

Amin, the military had unwavering power to shoot, arrest and detain people.[213] As it was the case with musicians from other parts of Uganda,[214] Wabutambi has captured these moments through song. *Yeba khalekho* (it was long time ago), *kumwakha isanvu mumukaga* (the year 1976) and *Natoolo* (Natoolo) are the examples cited to illustrate how Wabutambi captured the political contexts of the time and turned them into song. The song *yeba khale kho* (it was long time ago) documents the atrocities allegedly committed by Amin's regime including the government's preoccupation with killing educated people, Amin's war against the crippled and the general poor living conditions during this period. Wabutambi told me that composing this song in early 1990s was to get a platform to implore young people to embrace 'good' policies ushered in by the NRM government. Among other issues, Wabutambi talks about free education for all, trade across borders, security and peace as the good things that the NRM government had ushered in.

Similarly, Wabutambi told me that the songs *Natoolo* (Natoolo) (composed in 1977) and *kumwakha isanvu mumukaga* (the year 1976) (composed in early 1980s) recount the events on the political trajectory of Uganda. Natoolo was a man from Bududa District, who was purportedly killed by Amin's agents in 1976. The other research participants also alleged that Natoolo was accused of engaging in subversive activities against the government. In this song, Wabutambi recounts how Natoolo left his home, how he was captured by Amin's agents and his eventual disappearance.[215] Wabutambi also talks about the nature of activities Natoolo engaged in as part of the effort to oust Amin from power. To Wabutambi, the song *natoolo* (Natoolo) reminds him about political activism of the time and how people like Natoolo got involved in such struggles. Moreover, he composed the song *kumwakha isanvu mumukaga* (the year 1976) in early 1980s drawing on smuggling[216] activities that heightened

[213] Important to note here is that although Ugandans expected 'peace' and 'development' after the downfall of Idi Amin, the period from 1979 to 1986 was associated with a lot of insecurity in the country. Not only did Amin's symphasizers wage war especially in parts of West Nile and northern Uganda, the results of 1980 general elections were disputed by different parties. Consequently, Yoweri Museveni, among other aggrieved individuals, begun an armed struggle, which culminated in the capture of state power in January, 1986. Despite Uganda having incidences of insecurity since Museveni and his NRM political organisation came to power, it is generally argued that the NRM government has ushered in peace and security in the country.

[214] Christopher Ssebadduka (from the Baganda ethnic group) is one of the musicians who composed several songs about Idi Amin's regime. Like other *Kadongo kamu* (single guitar) musicians, Ssebadduka uses veiled language in his music. Likewise, Wabutambi uses veiled language in songs where he talked about the government – especially to criticise the regime in power.

[215] In his book on the state of life during Amin's regime, Kyemba (1997) notes that many prominent Ugandans disappeared and were never seen again. He points to a scenario where such people like businessmen, heads of government departments and religious leaders were killed by government security forces and buried in unknown places.

[216] As a result of Amin's 'economic' war ushered in 1972 to 'rid' Uganda of the Asian business community, Uganda lacked essential commodities. The situation was made worse when some western countries imposed

between 1975 and 1979 in Uganda. As an area that produces Arabica coffee (see section 4.2), Wabutambi recounts how people from his Bulucheke Sub-County got involved in smuggling activities. He narrates how people carried coffee on their heads, how they climbed mountains, went down the valleys and crossed forests on their trek to Kenya. Yet upon reaching there, they were either cheated by Kenyan business men or were waylaid by Amin's troops, who took away all the money and sometimes killed those involved in this trade.

Besides the above political songs, Wabutambi's song *bubwooba bushisali* (mushrooms from the forest) is a story about *bulikhama* (a type of mushroom which was purported to be poisonous) that was eaten by people from Bushiyi Sub-County, leading to the death of many of them in early 1980s. Moreover, the song *silimu* (HIV/AIDS) recounts the stigma that came with HIV/AIDS during late 1980s and early 1990s. By mentioning some of the people who succumbed to HIV/AIDS in Bududa during this period, Wabutambi implores people to be sympathetic to those suffering from this disease. In the song, he also cautions people to desist from 'baptising' every sick person an HIV/AIDS victim before carrying out the necessary medical texts.[217] Besides, the song *ingulurwe ye Bushiyi* (the landslide of Bushiyi) through which he recounts how landslides killed people in Bushiyi in 1970, Wabutambi continues to sing about this natural disaster and how it has affected the lifestyle of the people of Bududa District. The song *ingulurwe ye Nametsi* (the landslide of Nametsi) (composed in 2011) recounts and documents how landslides killed people in Nametsi, Namasheti and Kubehyo on Monday 1, 2010. He tells a story of how different stakeholders intervened to bury the dead and resettle survivors, also advising people to use proper farming methods as a way of preventing these natural disasters from reoccurring.[218]

Apart from Wabutambi, there were other musicians from other Sub-counties of Bududa whom I interacted with during fieldwork. Damascus Kusolo Wamundu whom I met in Khama Trading Centre (Bushika Sub-County) performed songs about the 'liberation' war

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economic sanctions on Uganda. As a result, Ugandans (especially those living in boarder areas) resorted to smuggling. They could carry items like coffee across borders to countries including Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania, to sell and acquire salt, sugar, kerosene, butter, clothing, cooking utensils, just to mention a few of these essential items. So lucrative was this business that a number of young men left school to 'make' money. In Bugisu, those engaged in smuggling took their items to Kenya, passing through the Mount Elgon forest. In remembering this activity, the circumcision season of 1976 among the Bagisu is called *Magendo* (smuggling) since this was the period illegal trade across the Uganda-Kenya boarder was at its peak.

[217] Here, Wabutambi was drawing on a personal experience where he became sick in 1990 and was declared an HIV/AIDS victim. However, as it turned out, he was found to be suffering from typhoid.

[218] See also Makwa (2015) in his discussions on music as a tool for reconnecting the Bududa landslide survivors in Kiryandongo Refugee Camp (KRC), North-western Uganda, back to their homes. *Ingulurwe ye Nametsi* (the landslide of Nametsi) is at the centre of Makwa's discussions in this work.

which was led by Yoweri Museveni between 1981 and 1986. Kusolo's song *Yoweri waona Bacholi* (Yoweri chased the Acholi) documents the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) (whose biggest composition is believed to have been people from northern Uganda, including the Acholi) and how it invaded Bududa and allegedly brutalised the residents of Bulucheke Sub-County. In this operation, the UNLA army was searching for Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) rebels purported to be hiding there. Despite singing songs about national figures like Museveni, most of the songs performed by Wamundu detailed pre-colonial wars (as was recounted by his grandfather). His song *Fungo nabilele wakwa khu Lunza* (Fungo, the one who makes bungles worn on people's wrists 'fell' at Lunza) is about one of his ancestors who was speared by an opponent and died from a place called Lunza. In this song, Wamundu shows why there is 'bad' blood between people in his village and those from the neighbouring village, pointing to pre-colonial wars as the cause of such conflicts.

Another musician I interacted with during fieldwork was Namwalye Musungu. Playing a tube fiddle – *shihiriri* – most of Namwalye's songs are about prominent personalities in his village of Bumwalye and the surrounding areas. Moreover, Woniala Tsombe (also born in Bumalaka Village like Wabutambi but residing in a village called Buraba, Bushiyi Sub-County) had composed several songs to document incidents in his community. His song *James watima Bacholi* (James ran away from the Acholi) was about the UNLA soldiers who came to Bulucheke Sub-County in 1985 in search of the NRA rebels. James Wabuteya was one of the local leaders in this Sub County who ran away from the government forces for fear of being labelled a rebel collaborator. Although they sang about national issues (especially politics), most of the songs composed and sang by other musicians were about the events taking place in the villages they reside. This experience shows how musicians archive their villages in song which they later transmit to other people in future.

Despite the adoption of cassettes to play pre-recorded music to entertain people in contexts like beer parties, entertainment settings are the main platforms for Wabutambi and other musicians to disseminate these musical materials on behalf of society. Sometimes, these local musicians are hired by politicians to accompany them during rallies. Through these activities, musicians have not only disseminated the musics they have accumulated, but also used these occasions as platforms to compose more songs. When Bududa District celebrated International Aids Day (IAD) on Monday December 2, 2013, one of the musicians invited

was Wabutambi.[219] David Tsolobi (by then the District Community Development Officer – DCDO) told me that Wabutambi was included on the programme because organisers of this event wanted him to narrate some of the historical facts about HIV/AIDS through song. Wabutambi was considered by the district leadership as the archive for information about the HIV/AIDS scourge.

As such, by inviting Wabutambi, the organisers of the AIDS day were not only looking for a means of entertaining guests, but also someone to bring to the fore historical facts about HIV/AIDS through singing about those who succumbed to this disease. He was also expected to sing about the various ways of curbing HIV/AIDS including abstinence, being faithful to one's partner and use of condoms. Wabutambi and other local musicians are looked at as an archive through which songs of various types can be retrieved for different social events in Bududa. Through their activities, such musicians stand out as objects where information about a specific social event is deposisted, which can be accessed in future. In the next section, I provide an overview on how private individuals participate in efforts to archive Kigisu music and dance in Bududa District.

4.6 Individual Efforts in Archiving Music and Dance

As the discussions in the previous section have demonstrated, community archiving, manifesting itself through the activities of different custodians of rituals, local musicians and maintenance of cultural sites, is at the centre of safeguarding music and dance on behalf of the community. However, as mentioned in section 4.3, several people in Bududa District have amassed private collections of music and dance in their homes. What motivates them to make these collections? What criteria do they use to accomplish their ambitions and how do they safeguard these collections? By answering these questions, I provide insights on how different stakeholders can work together to make music recordings with the aim of establishing a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for Kigisu music and dance during the contemporary period.

The case of Michale Kisibo, a man in his mid-twenties by the time I conducted this study, is pertinent to illustrate this practice. As a young boy growing up in his village, Kisibo

[219] Wabutambi later declined to attend IAD celebrations at Bududa District headquarters because he was not given 'enough' money. He told me that he wanted the District leadership to give him 50,000 Ugandan shillings (about 17 US Dollars) but was offered only 10,000 Ugandan shillings (about 3 US Dollars). If this was true, the incident shows how some people do not value musicians, regarding them as people of low value.

saw his uncle, a one Kooko playing recorded songs on his cassette radio. Kooko had recorded these songs during *imbalu* rituals of 1988, 1990 and 1992. Most of the candidates Kooko had recorded were singing about HIV/AIDS, a disease that affected numerous people in Bududa District during that time.[220] Kisibo told me that Kooko always encouraged him to come and listen to what he was playing. It was during such sessions that Kisibo came to hear about HIV/AIDS – locally termed as *silimu* – and understand the misery it had caused to society. The singing was so inspiring that Kisibo vowed to imitate it during his own circumcision.

Although Kisibo had 'prepared' to sing 'well', he did not have recording gadgets to capture his own singing. His uncle, Kuloba Musungu, saved him when on the eve of circumcision in 2008, the latter came with an empty cassette tape to record Kisibo and his colleagues as they performed music for circumcision. With the *shishiwoyo*[221] song that Musungu led, he asked Kisibo and his colleagues to sing together as he recorded them. The recording was later played to the group that had gathered at the home of Kisibo's father. From this home that very night, Musungu took these candidates to another home to join another *imbalu* group in the neighbourhood. Here, they were made to sing together and were recorded. Afterwards, the songs were replayed for them to listen. Kisibo told me that when he heard his voice, he got 'empowered' because he could hear people cheering him up as he sang. Even as they listened to the recording, people applauded him for singing and out-competing those he was going to be circumcised with.

This experience inspired Kisibo to collect songs during *imbalu* rituals. Whenever candidates were circumcised in his village, Kisibo moved from home to home recording them.[222] After circumcision, he would bring these initiates and sit together with them to play back the recordings to them. According to Kisibo, such listening sessions always led to discussions on who really sang better songs during initiation than the other. Kisibo observed that they would even bring 'neutral' people to judge who among the candidates he had

[220] As earlier pointed out, Wabutambi observed that the intensity with which HIV/AIDS killed people in Bududa District during early 1990s motivated him to compose the song *silimu* (HIV/AIDS) (see also section 4.5).

[221] *Shishiwoyo* is among the song genres performed during *imbalu* rituals. The purpose of singing *shishiwoyo* (plural *bibiwoyo*) is to implore candidates show their resolve for the knife. Such songs are normally performed on the eve of circumcision or while candidates are taken for the operation. This moment is considered conducive for performing such songs as they are intended to inculcate into these boys the spirit of being resolute for *imbalu*. See Wangusa (1989); Khamalwa (2004); Makwa (2010) for more details on this form of singing.

[222] The case of Kisibo recording other *imbalu* candidates is not an isolated incident. I have always seen several people with recording gadgets capturing songs and dances during *imbalu* rituals. The invention of smart phones has encouraged many people, not only to take photographs of *imbalu* candidates, but also record the songs they perform.

recorded were singing 'better' than the other. The future plan had always been to keep these tapes such that their wives and children could hear for themselves how the husbands and fathers were able to sing during *imbalu*. As mentioned earlier, *imbalu* rituals are a platform for displaying one's strength and power in society. In her article on *imbalu* rituals, Heald (1982:15) also observes that the way one sings and dances is a means through which people can display this power. Young men have always used *imbalu* rituals as a tool to woo potential marriage partners, particularly by striving to sing songs that praise their girlfriends. Among the Bagisu, young women are encouraged to marry those men who were considered as 'heroes' during their *imbalu* rituals.

As Kisibo told me, a good singer during *imbalu* rituals is the one who brings up songs that 'stick' to people's minds.[223] This kind of *imbalu* candidate must be good at projecting and varying his voice, balancing the accompaniment – the beating of sticks with the voice – and accompanying himself with dancing. In addition, those candidates considered 'good' singers recount the genealogies of their families and lineages. They are not expected to be people who rush their followers (the parties that escort them) but move with them gently. They mention the different heroes of their communities. Kisibo also defined those who do not sing well as candidates not being able to articulate their lineages in song, those whose voice is not balanced with the sticks they beat and are always rushing – most of the time running and leaving the people accompanying them behind. Kisibo noted that such 'poor' candidates 'tempt' their parents to hire *kadodi* bands to perform with them as a way of entertaining the people escorting them.[224]

As he put it, Kisibo's future plan had been to play the musics he recorded during *imbalu* rituals to others to inspire candidates to sing well. However, when I requested Kisibo for the tapes, he told me that the poor storage had caused damage as the tapes were attacked by termites and moist. All of them got spoilt. Learning best practices in archiving is among the issues Kisibo thinks can be of benefit to community members interested in archiving their music and dance using western technology. He was of the view that personnel from archives like MAKWAA are in better positions to teach private collectors these practices since they are specialists in this area. I will return to this debate later in Chapter Six.

[223] Prospective *imbalu* candidates also imitate men who had sung well during their circumcision rituals. It is common to find people – boys, women and even circumcised men – humming tunes of the songs particular *imbalu* candidates sung.
[224] Good singers during their *imbalu* rituals usually become *banamyenya* for their respective communities.

4.7 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have discussed the archival practices that the Bagisu living in Bududa District use to safeguard their music and dance. To understand these archival practices, I saw the need to present the socio-economic, religious, political and technological context under which the Bagisu in Bududa thrive. From the discussions, the Chapter demonstrates that the Bagisu in Bududa District do not have a term used to denote or describe an archive, archivist or archiving. However, archiving, which is the process of the creation, collection, transmission, preservation, management and dissemination of music and dance in this community is subtly embedded in the various social events and activities that form the day-to-day routines of community members. When the community stages a dance, for example, the performance context becomes a site for assembling (showcasing) and transmitting music and dance to the public. The dance becomes an archive through which material pertaining to the community's past, its present and future is enacted.

Furthermore, the different custodians of the dance ritual or social event in question play a crucial role in ensuring that they not only direct people on the rightful procedures pertaining what should be performed, but also work to capture information about such performances so that such material can be passed over to other people in future. Besides the role of various custodians of rituals, there are special sites where rituals and other public events are performed. The safeguarding of such places represents efforts by members of the community to capture and preserve the musics and dances staged there. In this Chapter, I also demonstrated that the archive of music and dance among the Bagisu in Bududa manifests itself through local musicians who create, perform and store these items for future generations. Lastly, one cannot under look the effort of individuals in the collection, preservation and management of musical material in this community.

As I demonstrate in this Chapter, two main forms of archives stand out in Bududa District. First, there are communal archives, meant for safeguarding music and dance on behalf of the entire community. More so, in this regard, I have identified archiving through enactment of such social events like funeral ritual dancing and the performance of *imbalu* circumcision rituals. Under this form of archiving, there are local musicians whose activities of collecting material about what happens in society, composing songs and later performing these songs to the community forms a significant platform for not only capturing social histories, but also archiving them in song. Although this Chapter has not provided many cases

of how individual members of the community engage in archiving Kigisu music and dance in Bududa District, the case of Kisibo shades light on this archival practice. It shows how individual members of the community collect music and dance and what motivates them to make such collections. An understanding of these individual efforts participates in articulating how different stakeholders can work together to establish archives that serve the needs of the people involved in an archival project as discussed in Chapter Six.

One major issue that stands out in this Chapter is how context influences the nature of archive that members of a particular society can create. Considering that Bududa District is predominantly rural, the nature of archive adopted by members of this community is informed by the people's socio-economic, political and religious factors. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Six, the changing nature of this context calls for adoption of another form of archive. In the next Chapter, I examine how Kigisu music and dance are archived in Mbale Town.

Chapter Five

Archiving Kigisu Music and Dance in Mbale Town

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter is informed by the need to understand the processes and techniques Kigisu musics and dances in Mbale Town are collected, processed, preserved and transmitted. I discuss the nature of Kigisu music and dance archived in Mbale Town and the agents involved in archiving these materials. Although numerous agents participate in archiving Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town, I demonstrate how music kiosks occupy a central position in collecting, processing, preserving and disseminating these items. I argue that while the Bagisu in Mbale Town constantly create music and dance through their day-to-day activities, a substantial amount of Kigisu musical materials disseminated and consumed in this town are those created from other parts of Bugisu and brought here by music kiosks and other agents. These items are then subjected to further processing before being disseminated to the public. Furthermore, technology plays a crucial role in performing the archive of Kigisu musical items in Mbale Town. Technology provides a platform for the people in Mbale Town to subvert the power of Bagisu elders, the people at the centre of regulating access to *imbalu* rituals, including the consumption of integrated music and dance.

The Chapter is divided into three sections. The first section is a description of the context of Mbale Town. Describing the context under which the Bagisu in Mbale Town live is aimed at highlighting how the social context influences the nature of archival practices adopted to preserve Kigisu music and dance in this setting. While I argue that Kigisu music, dance and other oral materials in Mbale Town are items brought from the country side, in this section, I also provide a glimpse on the nature of musical materials created in this town through the daily activities of the town dwellers. The second section is a discussion on how music kiosks play a central role in the process of archiving Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. By drawing on the case of Godfrey Magomba, I discuss the processes of archiving *imbalu* circumcision music and dance through music kiosks. I also demonstrate how the musics composed by Bagisu popular musicians from other parts of Bugisu are collected, processed and disseminated by David Mafuko Wazikonya, also a music kiosk owner, to town dwellers. The third section gives a glimpse on other platforms adopted to archive Kigisu

music and dance in Mbale Town. As I have pointed out above, a discussion of the context of Mbale Town is significant as it enhances an understanding of the nature of the archive and archival practices performed by people in this town. The socio-economic and technological context under which the town dwellers live is what I present in the following section.

5.2 Socio-economic and Technological Context of Mbale Town

Mbale Town is located in what is generally known as central Bugisu.[225] The town is divided into four Divisions:[226] Northern, Wanale, Industrial and Central. To the east of the town – as one moves beyond Busamaga suburbs – are the Wanale ranges. As illustrated in Figure II, Namatala River is the town's boundary on the western frontier. Far beyond Namakwekwe and Nkoma suburbs, to the north, is Budadiri County (which is part of Sironko District). The southern part of Mbale Town is bordered by Bungokho South County. While Mbale Town extends as far as Mooni suburb to the south, Bumutoto Cultural Grounds (BCG), located about 4KM off Mbale-Tororo highway in Bumutoto Sub-County, are part of the hinterland that contributes to the musical soundscapes of Mbale Town. It is at BCG where *imbalu* circumcision rituals are launched during the month of August in even-numbered years. As the discussions in this chapter will later demonstrate, these launching events bring together *imbalu* candidates and musicians who perform various musics and dances associated with circumcision, which are also circulated and consumed in Mbale Town. Indeed, the musics and dances created and performed at BCG are among the materials repackaged and circulated by the various music kiosks found in Mbale Town. As such, examining the cultural influences of Mbale Town without making reference to BCG is tantamount to omitting an important section of this town from one's analysis.

Despite the town having numerous dilapidated buildings and pot-holed roads when I went there for fieldwork in 2013 and 2014, Mbale is among the prominent urban centres in Uganda. Not only is Mbale a business hub for what has emerged in recent Ugandan

[225] Central Bugisu covers the counties of Bungokho South and North as well as Mbale Municipality. According to a mythical narrative about the origin of the Bagisu, the Central part of Bugisu is a place where Wanale (one of the sons of Masaaba) is believed to have resided (see more details on this mythical narrative under section 4.2, Chapter Four).

[226] Names given to the different administrative units in Uganda are dependent on whether the place is located in a rural or an urban setting. In rural areas, the village is the smallest administrative unit and is followed by a parish, then sub-county, county and district. In a town setting, a cell, ward and division are equivalent to village, parish and sub- county respectively. At the top of the administrative hierarchy in a town is a municipality. In a city context, the administrative hierarchy begins at cell level, and goes through the parish, sub-county, division and city council.

administrative nomenclature as the 'Elgon sub-region',[227] the town also houses sub-regional headquarters for Uganda Police, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Water and Environment, Defence, among other government departments. Besides, this town houses the headquarters of several Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) based in this sub-region. Due to its role in acting as an administrative and commercial centre for a number of districts including Sironko, Bulambuli, Kapchorwa, Bukwo, Manafwa, Bududa, Butaleja, among others, there were concerted efforts by the GoU to upgrade Mbale Town to a city status.[228] During fieldwork, the town was undergoing a major facelift – including upgrading main roads; demolishing old buildings (while repairing others) and subjecting new buildings to strict architectural designs befitting a 'modern' city. This continued urbanisation and reshaping of Mbale Town point to more migrations to this place, a practice which will inevitably impact on the nature of music and dance created, circulated, archived and consumed in this town in the near future.

Associated with this high rate of urbanisation is the technological advancement that continues to influence the lifestyle of the town dwellers. In spite of twenty-first century societies grappling with the effects of technology, this phenomenon has affected people living in urban centres more than their counterparts in rural areas (Keller, 1999). Apart from having access to modern gadgets like radio systems (those that make use of CDs, DVDs and memory sticks) and smart (feature) phones, most residents in Mbale Town easily access the internet. In fact, going around the town exposes one to numerous internet booths where town dwellers go to communicate with people in other parts of the world. The internet has also enabled people in Mbale Town to access and consume music, dance and other cultural materials from other parts of the globe. Moreover, there is easy access to computers which have not only motivated people to engage in a variety of computer games, but also enabled them to explore different soft wares for burning and transferring music sounds and videos from one media to another. High technological consumption in such urban environs like Mbale is fostered by a reliable connectivity to electricity as opposed to rural areas like Bududa. In fact, besides being connected to electric lines, which supply the town with constant power, town dwellers also have access to generators and solar energy which

[227] Elgon sub-region covers the districts surrounded by Mount Elgon in eastern Uganda. These districts include Mbale, Sironko, Bulambuli, Kapchorwa, Bukwo, Manafwa, and Bududa – just to mention some of them.

[228] The idea of elevating Mbale Town to a city status was part of a bigger government programme through which the GoU was moving towards the creation of what are known as 'regional cities.' Major towns in the different parts of Uganda including Masaka, Mbarara, Jinja, Mbale, Lira, Gulu, Arua and Fort Portal were ear-marked for this programme. Mbale was expected to be a city serving communities in Tororo, Busia, Butaleja, Pallisa, Kibuuku, Kapchorwa, Bukwo among others.

supplement the Hydro Electric Power (HEP), the latter being the main source of electricity in Mbale Town.

Describing Mbale as a 'cosmopolitan' setting is underscoring the fact that this town can no longer be regarded as 'something' that belongs to the Bagisu.[229] The notion of 'cosmopolitanism' as used by Turino (2003:61) in his article on Zimbabwean popular music is used to describe situations "involving processes of socialisation and comprising shared internalised dispositions". In Mbale Town, the rapid urbanisation has fostered hybridisation of cultures, where 'local' items are sandwiched between those 'imported' from foreign lands. In this regard, I argue that despite the Bagisu in Mbale Town being "native to their own location" (to borrow Turino's 2003: 62 expression), the nature of Kigisu cultural materials created and consumed in Mbale Town are greatly influenced by those produced by the non-Bagisu who reside in this town. Needless to say, Mbale Town is composed of people from all over the world. There are Indians, Chinese, Pakistanis, Israelis, Lebanese, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyans, Congolese, Rwandese, Burundians, and Sudanese – just to mention a few of foreign nationals living in this town.[230] These people live and interact with their Bagisu counterparts in housing estates, places of worship, schools, markets and other public places. They share food, modes of dressing, language as well as music and other cultural materials.[231] As such, to say that Mbale is a hodgepodge or melting centre of cultures is to emphasize the view that this town is a space where different local and foreign languages, food, dressings and other cultural aspects interact with each other.

The context described above shows that the Bagisu living in Mbale Town are influenced by a lifestyle that demands that they behave in a different way as opposed to those

[229] Politically, Mbale is regarded as a town 'belonging' to the Bugisu. A number of town dwellers aged over sixty years told me a story of how the Bagwere (a Bantu speaking people living to the east of Mbale Town) got embroiled in a conflict over the ownership of Mbale Town with their Bagisu neighbours in 1950s. I was told that this conflict was resolved when the high court ruled in favour of the Bagisu. To this end, most elected political leaders in this town are Bagisu.

[230] In fact, some suburbs in Mbale Town are named after foreign communities. Indian quarters are a suburb in the industrial division which was mostly inhabited by people of Indian decent during the colonial period. Although senior quarters, one of the upscale areas of this town, was occupied by some Bagisu during the time I conducted fieldwork, this suburb was a residential area for British colonial agents who worked in Mbale Town. Like many of such places in postcolonial states, Indian and senior quarters were no-go areas for black Africans (see also Fanon, 1963; on creation of special places where colonial masters used to stay). By confining themselves to such areas, colonial masters differentiated themselves from local populations, showing that they were a class higher.

[231] In Mbale Town, it is common to find supermarkets where one can easily buy Indian music or music from other parts of the world. These are normally shopping centres operated by Indians or other foreign nationals living in this town. However, many other music studios/centres around the town deal in music from different parts of the world – distributing CDs and DVDs of music by Bagisu popular musicians, artists from other parts of Uganda and musics composed by musicians from other parts of the world.

living in Bududa District. More specifically, the nature of approaches used to archive their music and dance are influenced by this context. Their understanding of the notion of the archive is shaped by this context, particularly the economic and technological conditions of the town. This study has revealed that music kiosks form a significant space for archiving Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. In the following section, I examine how music kiosks act as spaces where Kigisu music and dance is collected, processed and circulated in Mbale Town.

5.3 Music Kiosks as Archives in Mbale Town

As demonstrated above, the lifestyle of the Bagisu in Mbale Town and those in Bududa is different. Unlike in Bududa where people predominantly thrive on subsistence agriculture, their counterparts in Mbale Town have to devise means for meeting the day-to-day needs of life. Necessitated by easy accessibility to technology, music and dance have become materials to be collected and turned into commodities for sale. Not only is music and dance by different church, school choirs and popular musicians recorded, put on CDs, DVDs or memory sticks/cards and sold, *imbalu* ritual music and dances are also collected, processed and repackaged for sale. At the centre of all these activities is what I have called music kiosks. What are music kiosks? What are their main activities? How do they participate in processes of archiving Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town? These are the questions guiding my discussions in this section.

In this dissertation, what I have considered as Music Kiosks (MKs) are centres specifically set up to deal in music (both audio and videos). In Mbale Town, it is in MKs that music (and dance) is burnt onto CDs, DVDs and memory sticks for sale to people. These music centres are normally managed by young men aged between 20 and 35 years.[232] MKs are found in small rooms near hair salons, secretarial bureaux, internet cafes and restaurants and the owners of these music centres engage in other related businesses including the sale of empty CDs, DVDs and memory sticks. My interaction with the people[233] engaged in these businesses showed that those who operate music kiosks have set these centres near other

[232] By the time I conducted this study, the biggest percentage of the unemployed people in Uganda was those falling under the age group between 20 and 35 years. These were mainly young men and women who had just completed university and were eager to look for ways of sustaining their lives. Informal businesses such as MKs offered these young people a means of survival, especially in places like Mbale Town.

[233] I did not encounter a situation where women were engaged in this business. As will be pointed out in Chapter Seven, the question of gender in relation to creation, distribution and management of music and dance among the Bagisu may become an interesting area for future research.

small-sized businesses as a way of sharing customers. To this end, MKs are usually in crowded places. In these places, one is able to see people come in and go out as they buy music or merely request for services of transferring a song from one CD to another.[234] Most people who buy music from these kiosks are low-income earners and to maximise profit, owners always work to sell as many CDs and DVDs as they can. Due to this, it is possible to find someone selling the same CD or DVD at different prices to different people. The buyer has to just negotiate the amount of money s/he is able to offer and will take the CD or DVD.

These music centres share similar characteristic features with music studios.[235] Both deal in packaging and repackaging music through machinations of transferring it from one medium to the other. However, despite music kiosks also dealing in music productions, their work is limited to a few activities including recording musicians. This is a result of the nature of equipment used. Most music kiosks have one or two computers, a public address system, and normally one mixer. Studios on the other hand, engage in some sort of large-scale productions. Most studios own a variety of mixers, digitisers and amplifiers. Besides the day-to-day activities of burning audio sounds and videos onto CDs and DVDs, the latter also engage in producing musicians. Like Mbabazi (2012) has noted in her work on digitisation of music, music studios help develop the ideas of musicians and constitute them into songs through the use of computer soft wares.

It is important to note that sometimes these features overlap. However, in this dissertation, I limit myself to the use of the notion of music kiosks to describe activities by small centres aimed at collecting, processing, preserving and circulating Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. Although their activities are usually defined in relation to 'stealing' people's music – thus bringing to the fore the question of ownership[236] – putting it on CDs and DVDs and selling such musics to members of the public, a closer interaction with people engaged in the business of MKs in Mbale Town reveals that they act as archival centres for musical materials. In other words, they champion the collection, processing, repackaging, transmission and management of Kigisu musical (and dance) materials in Mbale Town. In the

[234] In these kiosks, you hardly see anybody bringing a CD or DVD with pre-recorded music for sale.

[235] Like MKs, music studios deal in arranging, producing, promoting and distributing musical materials on mechanical aids like CDs and DVDs. Despite this similarity, music studios, which may also be regarded as labels, have a collection of CDs and DVDs, normally accumulating a kind of music library where interested customers can go and buy (sometimes borrow the CD/DVD at a small fee). On the other hand, MKs keep most of their material on computers and mainly burn a CD or DVD upon being requested by the person wanting to buy it.

[236] See also Mbabazi (2012:171) in her discussions on music studios.

following subsection, I discuss the case of George Magomba to show how his activities of recording and processing *imbalu* inauguration events do not only participate in transmitting *imbalu* musics and dances in Mbale Town, but also archiving these materials. The second case I discuss is that of how David Mafuko Wazikonya has acted as a link between local musicians and the public in Mbale Town through setting up a centre where he collected, processed and circulated (sold) music composed by Bagisu popular musicians. However, before discussing how Magomba engages in recording and circulating *imbalu* inauguration events in Mbale Town, there is need to present a summary of what consistutes these activities. In other words, what are *imbalu* inauguration events? Which musical materials are transmitted during this occasion and who are the main actors involved? I address some of these questions in the ensuing paragraphs.

Inaugurating *imbalu* refers to an occasion when these rituals are officially launched. The event takes place in August, during even-numbered years, at Bumutoto Cultural Grounds (BCG), located about 4KMs from Mbale Town. This event is intended to bring together all the Bagisu – from the districts of Mbale, Sironko, Manafwa, Bududa and Bulambuli – to witness the circumcision of boys from Bumutoto clan. The Bamutoto (the Bagisu belonging to Bumutoto clan) are believed to have been responsible for re-introducing *imbalu* rituals (which had been abandoned by the Bagisu) when the children of a man called Fuuya had a strange sickness which was linked to *kyimisambwa kye mbalu* (the spirits of circumcision) (Khamalwa, 2004).

The Bagisu believe that while the initial inception of *imbalu* rituals is linked to Masaaba, there was a period when people stopped performing these rituals. However, both the period and the reasons as to why these rituals were abandoned cannot be established since there are no written records pointing to this historical epoch (Naleera, 2003). Nevertheless, Khamalwa (2004:20-21) observes that it was until the children of Fuuya from the Bamutoto clan were afflicted with strange sickness that *imbalu* rituals among the Bagisu were revived.[237] Fuuya is said to have married a Masaai woman (from Kenya) with whom he produced male children. These children were later attacked by a strange disease. When Aramunyenye (Fuuya's brother in-law) visited, he was troubled by the sickness that had attacked his nephews. He 'diagnosed' them and 'discovered' that the boys were inflicted by

[237] See also Namanda (1999), Makwa (2005; 2010).

spirits of circumcision from their mother's tribe. Upon getting Fuuya's consent, Aramunyenye circumcised the boys.

It was later asserted that because all the Bagisu are connected to Nabarwa (Masaaba's wife who was also a Kalenjin – a circumcising community), all of them have spirits of circumcision and must be circumcised. Circumcising men was meant to avert the angry circumcision spirits which were believed to come and revenge not only on the person who dodges performing the *imbalu* ritual, but also on other members of the family and clan. In deference to Fuuya, his extended family planted a tree known as *kumutoto* in his compound to mark a circumcision spot for his kinsmen. The families expanded into a clan which later became known as Bamutoto (those who are related to the *kumutoto* plant) – with the area becoming Bumutoto. The *imbalu* ritual later spread to other parts of Bugisu. These accounts explain why the Bamutoto have maintained a special status among the Bagisu – being the first Bagisu to be circumcised before the *imbalu* ritual spreads to other parts of Bugisu.

According to Samuel Watulatsu, a founder member of *inzu ye Masaaba* Cultural Institution, the various district councils from Bugisu sub-region play a crucial role in organising these events (interview Saturday 5 October, 2013). Despite agreeing on the district that takes the overall responsibility in the organisation of these events, each of these districts allocates a certain amount of money towards the festivities to be staged at BCG. Other monies towards these festivities are the contributions by various political leaders from Bugisu. Money from these contributions is used to put up tents, facilitate security operations in the area, print invitation cards for invited guests and purchase trophies for the different *imbalu* groups that come to showcase *imbalu* musics and dances from their respective areas. This money is also used to pay adjudicators who are hired to 'officiate' during the performances.

The programme (which normally begins at around 10:00AM) is always enriching. Usually administered by a Master of Ceremonies (MC) for the day, the sequence of activities involves opening prayers (which include evoking the spirits of Masaaba and other ancestors) and making introductions of the various guests that come for the occasion. Then, there are speeches – made by the local area leaders and invited guests. Before the Guest of Honour makes his speech, the various groups showcase their musics and dances. Afterwards, there is the presentation of 'trophies' to the teams that engage in the performances for the day. Meanwhile, the Bamutoto elders perform a wide range of rituals on this day. They slaughter animals and put part of the meat on a forked *lusoola* plant (*lubaani*), prepare the sacred swamp where candidates are smeared with mud (*litosi*), smear these candidates with yeast

and sprinkle them with local brew (*busera bwe mu mwendo* – the beer from the gourd) as a way of evoking ancestral spirits unto them.

After the performances in the open grounds, guests are led by area local leaders to watch Bamutoto boys being circumcised. The events associated with the launch of *imbalu* rituals at Bumutoto are a substantial amount of cultural materials circulated and consumed around Mbale Town. Here is a summarised inventory of materials from BCG that one may find in this town: *Imbalu* groups from different parts of Bugisu making processions to BCG; the various dignitaries making their way to tents, introduction of invited guests to the audience and presentation of speeches by these guests. Then there are the musical and dance performances by the various groups representing the districts of Bududa, Manafwa, Mbale, Sironko and Bulambuli. These musics and dances can be categorised as: the *isonja* of Bududa, *isonja* of Manafwa and *isonja* of Bungokho north (covering places as far as Bukonde, Bufumbo and Wanale). There is also the *tsinyimba* dance – the latter originating from the Bakusu of western Kenya. *Tsinyimba* is usually performed by *imbalu* candidates from Bubulo East in Manafwa District. Besides, there are *kadodi* musics, musics performed as candidates are taken to cultural sites, as they visist their relatives as well as after the circumcision of boys, to cerebrate the bravely displayed by the boy during the cutting of the foreskin from his penis. Similary, the Bagisu from Mbale, Sironko, Manafwa, Bududa and Bulambuli showcase songs about the history of circumcision and legendry figures associated with the introduction of this ritual among the Bagisu. Among the names that feature in the songs as well as speeches presented during these events are Masaaba (the first Mugisu believed to have been circumcised) and Nabarwa (the Kalenjin woman believed to have convinced Masaaba to undergo the imbalu *ritual*). In the following section, I discuss the process Magomba follows to collect and process *imbalu* inauguration ceremonies for archiving and dissemination in Mbale Town.

5.3.1 George Magomba and the Archiving of Imbalu Inauguration Events in Mbale Town

George Magomba was a 25-year old man when I met him in August 2010 – the day I had gone to BCG to witness the official launch of *imbalu* rituals. When we reached BCG (together with Ronald Mwisaka, the 20-year old man I had engaged as a research assistant), the place had been barricaded by the Special Forces Group (SFG) – the elite soldiers whose

primary role is to guard the President of Uganda.[238] It was then that we were told that unless we had been cleared by the Government Media Centre (GMC) in Kampala, we would not be allowed to access the venue with our recording gadgets.[239] Because of the need to get some recordings for what was taking place, we had to look for someone who would share with us 'his'/'her' recordings. This person turned out to be Magomba. Magomba directed us to the 'corner' in Mbale Town where he operates and I followed him. From that day, I kept buying some of the musics he had for my research purposes.

Interacting with Magomba during this study, he told me that his job is to get the albums popular musicians release, duplicate the music and later burn it on CDs for sale. Magomba works in collaboration with other colleagues who share the musics they get.[240] Besides dealing in songs released by popular musicians, Magomba collects the *imbalu* inauguration materials for his business. For that matter, I would like to present some of the experiences I shared with Magomba, illuminating how he processes the materials captured during the Bumutoto events and how he releases them into the market. I also examined how he safeguards these materials, to ensure that they are available to those who may need them in future. Such experiences will enhance my discussions on the characteristic features of this type of archiving later in this dissertation.

Magomba told me that his journey to BCG in search of *imbalu* inauguration musics and dances begins at 6:00AM.[241] With his recording gadgets, he arrives at this venue at 6:

[238] When the president is not the guest of honour, he delegates one of the cabinet ministers or any senior government official to represent him. During times when the president was not the Guest of Honour, there was less security at BCG. On such occasions, it is ordinary police officers who man the place, to ensure law and order.

[239] When we reached the security check point, it dawned unto us that whoever was to make any recordings needed to register with the GMC in Kampala, obtain a security tag and be allowed space among the media crew. As a result, we had to take our cameras back to Mbale Town and returned to just watch the proceedings.

[240] As indicated earlier, we see Magomba occupying a position of an informal distributor, which makes him appear like a person who unlawfully acquires and sells other people's musical materials without their consent. Without doubt, this practice goes against the International Intellectual Property Rights Law (IIPRL) which prohibits the use of another person's ideas without his/her consent. However, the laxity of the copyright law in Uganda makes it easy for people like Magomba to pick and use other people's musics for commercial purposes without being judged in courts of law. In fact, this form of business has become one of the easiest ways of accessing the music albums of popular musicians in Uganda.

[241] When I was preparing to go to BCG in 2010 to make recordings for MAKWAA, my research assistant emphasised to me that we should leave our hotel in Mbale Town as early as 7:00AM. His argument was that if we reach BCG after 9:00AM, we were going to get problems in accessing the place. "Is it because the president is coming and therefore we have to reach there early enough to be on time for security checks?" I inquired. "No, the issue is that there are always many people, especially studio owners [and those operating music kiosks] scrambling for recordings. "They reach there earlier and take the best positions", was the response from Mwisaka, my research assistant. Reaching the security point, I realised that although journalists formed the biggest number of people queuing to access BCG, owners of recording studios were also struggling to enter the grounds where the inauguration events were staged.

30AM and begins to record people as they make their way to the cultural grounds. He then goes to the site and makes recordings of dignitaries, performing groups, speeches by invited guests, musical performances, processions by Bamutoto boys to the circumcision courtyard and the moment when they are circumcised. Magomba emphasised to me that he records 'everything' since his aim is to present the 'whole' *imbalu* process to people who go to buy such materials from his kiosk.[242]

When he returns to his kiosk in Mbale, he embarks on the processing phase. First, he downloads everything on his computer. Afterwards, he selects what to burn on CDs, DVDs or memory sticks and those materials that should be discarded. By engaging in these processes, Magomba decides on what to circulate to the public and what should not be circulated. This practice points to how Magomba takes the place of an archivist, who dictates the nature of material to be archived and who should access it (Cox, 2001; Evans, 2007). Magomba uses editing soft wares (including edius, cyber link power director and adobe premiere pro) and cuts off those parts which he feels are not necessary in the short run.[243] Meanwhile, the sections selected for circulation are then arranged in such a way that best tells the story of how events at BCG are unfolded. In the video that he creates, Magomba captures the march to BCG – showing how different guests and *imbalu* parties move from the Mbale-Tororo highway to BCG. He then shows the arrangement of tents at BCG and provides a glimpse on how different dignitaries are introduced to the audience and how the different groups from the various parts of Bugisu perform circumcision music and dances. The whole presentation ends at a point when Bamutoto boys are circumcised. All these episodes are joined together as one entity. Magomba told me that he puts some effects in between these sections to have one smooth story. Although compressing material negatively impacts on the quality of the final product, Magomba told me that he ensures that whatever he produces fits on a DVD whose capacity is 4.5 GB. This saves him the complexities of distributing two DVDs of the same event.

[242] Despite this business seeming to be without any regulations in terms of how people collect and use materials, a closer interaction with kiosk owners reveals that those engaged in such activities have established means of getting material and taking it to their kiosks for processing. They know the 'right' time to go for recordings and which materials they need to collect, process and distribute around Mbale Town.

[243] Most of the young men engaged in these businesses were either students attending universities or those who were already graduates from university. They have knowledge about computer programming and maintenance. Some of the owners of music kiosks were actually Information Technology (IT) experts. On issues of processing cultural materials especially music (and dance), see Storbart (2011:222).

Distribution around town is done through a number of ways. As the kiosk owner, Magomba has placed one huge loud speaker outside his workroom. With cables connecting to the computer inside, he plays the music as a way of advertising the musical materials available in his kiosk to passers-by. Whoever hears the music and is interested in it goes inside and orders for a DVD. A DVD of the Bumutoto events at Magomba's kiosk costs ten thousand Uganda Shillings (about US $ 3). Most people who buy these DVDs also go to the extent of making duplicate copies which they either resale or just share with their colleagues elsewhere.[244] Although I sometimes found some members of the public in Mbale Town listening to the audio sounds of what happened at BCG in 2014, it is quite rare to find the town dwellers listening to the sounds alone. Most of my research participants told me that they find it more entertaining and enriching to watch the events in video form on their computers. In fact, those who depended on listening to the performances in audio formats are the low-income earners – people who could not afford to acquire a DVD player or television set in their homes.

The above activities by Magomba illustrate how music kiosks participate in collecting, processing and disseminating *imbalu* circumcision music and dance in Mbale Town. That BCG is a site for archiving *imbalu* music and dance among the Bagisu is demonstrated through the congregation of various *imbalu* groups from the different parts of Bugisu to present their musics and dances. This form of archiving is also manifested through assembling and showcasing such musics and dances to members of the public. However, unlike in Bududa District where the performance context forms a site for archiving *imbalu* music and dance, music kiosks represent a modern approach to archiving ritual materials in an urban setting among contemporary Bagisu. They represent a situation where an archive becomes a stage for transacting business to cater for the day-today needs of life. Commercialisation of the archive implies that material that has less value is not collected, processed and circulated for other people to consume. As I will point out in Chapter Six, discarding material because it is not useful at that specific time deprives future generations access to valuable items.

This form of archive may demand that we reflect more about two issues, namely: 1) the nature of material created for safeguarding; and 2) people who access and consume the

[244] Although the town dwellers (and people from other parts of Bugisu) consume these musics, most buyers of the DVDs Magomba produces are the Bagisu who reside outside Bugisu – those staying in places as far as Kampala City. These are usually people who collect such musical and dance materials as a way of reminding themselves of what happens back home.

archived material. As the case of Magomba has demonstrated, the process of recording, processing and repackaging items for music kiosks involves the transformation of these objects into something 'new'. The main aim of transforming these objects is to make them appealing to the final consumers. To this end, one cannot talk about authentic *imbalu* music and dances as archived through music kiosks. When Solomon (2015: 338) notes that there is borrowing and blending and then emplacing of resultant items in specific settings and localities in his effort to evoke the concept of hybridity, his views relate to the practice by music kiosks to process, repackage and circulate *imbalu* musics and dances in Mbale Town. As Magomba put it in relation to the process of repackaging material collected from BCG, one cuts off 'unwanted' sections of the musics and dances recorded at BCG, puts the different sections together and adds computer effects for purposes of having a 'smooth' story about *imbalu* rituals.

The second issue relates to accessibility and consumption of these items. Material from music kiosks is not only recorded on CDs and DVDs and circulated in Mbale Town to be accessed by local people in this setting, it is also uploaded on video-hosting sites including YouTube. In this way, it is accessed and consumed by people from different parts of the world, even those who may not understand why the Bagisu perform *imbalu* rituals. Discussing the performance of the funeral ritual dance in Chapter Four, I pointed out how the power struggles among different religious sects provided a platform for the Bagisu in Bududa to stage a funeral ritual dance. At the end, an abandoned archive, with material that young people had not seen, was brought to life. In the case of music kiosks in Mbale Town, it becomes evident that technology has provided a site for owners of music kiosks to subvert the power of Bagisu elders and upload *imbalu* music and dance on internet to be accessed and consumed by people all over the world.

That *imbalu* is a public performance does not imply that all its spaces are open to outsiders. As a Mugisu, I have grown up witnessing scenarios where women are prevented from coming closer to the boy on his way for pen-surgery. The Bagisu regard women as fearful people, those beings who cannot stand the sight of blood (Makwa, 2010:123). As the candidate is taken for pen-surgery, women, including the mother of the boy, are expected to go into the house, only to come out when he has finished the ritual successfully.[245] They

[245] The notion of finishing the ritual successfully is used in this context to refer to a situation where the boy stands firmly and does not cry. If he cries, the Bagisu argue that he has cursed his mother. For more details on this issue, see Wangusa (1987).

emerge out of the house ululating and singing the song *khanyunyi khamusuru khalule* (The Wild Bird has Hatched).[246]

As such, when *imbalu* music and dances depicting the space of taking the boy for pen-surgery is made available to outsiders through technology, we see technology acting as a tool for subverting the power of elders whose role is to regulate the accessibility and consumption of these materials. Moreover, as Seeger (1996) has noted, technological advancement brings about crucial ethical issues in archiving. As discussed above, technology does not only enable 'outsiders' access and consume material from elsewhere, it also facilitates improvement and repackaging of these items. By modifying them, such objects change form. One even tampers with the message embedded in the music and dances since there is cutting, copying and pasting of information. The scope of this study does not provide enough room for discussions on technology. These issues can be handled in another study in future. In the subsection below, I use the example of David Mafuko Wazikonya to discuss how music kiosks archive music composed by local Bagisu musicians thus occupying a central link between these musicians and the public in Mbale Town.

5.3.2 David Mafuko Wazikonya: The Link between Bagisu Popular Musicians and the Public in Mbale Town

David Mafuko Wazikonya was a man aged about 52 years when I met him on Monday February 9, 2015 for an interview. By that time, he was a teacher of Agriculture at Nkoma, one of the secondary schools in Mbale Town. However, Nakasala (my research assistant) had known him for a long time as a 'music dealer'. [247] Mafuko used to get music from musicians, records it on tapes and sells it to the public. Before meeting him, people in Mbale Town who knew about my study had pointed to this man as one of the people I should interview since he had been involved in recording musicians from villages as a way of 'helping' them sell their music. Indeed, during the interview, Mafuko told me that although he was not a musician, he had a lot of passion for Kigisu music. In 1989, he decided to venture into the business of "promoting" local musicians by having their music recorded and

[246] See Figure XIII for the transcription of this song and the message embedded in it. See also Makwa (2010:127).

[247] The concept of music dealer as used in this dissertation refers to an individual engaged in activities geared towards providing a link between musicians on the one hand and members of the public on the other hand. In fact, this definition can also be used to describe the role music kiosks play in transmitting musical materials in Mbale Town.

disseminated to the public.[248] As he put it, many local musicians have very good music but are limited by the fact that they cannot penetrate the market since most of them are very poor and based in rural areas.

As such, in 1990, Mafuko established a centre along Naboa Street where he installed recording equipment, assembled some musical instruments (including electric guitars, harps and a keyboard) and began recording local musicians. He emphasised to me that while he could encourage musicians to come to him to have 'their' musics recorded by giving his contacts to people who already knew him, sometimes he could go to the villages and look for the musicians on his own accord. Through a technique related to snowball[249] sampling, Mafuko asked the musicians he recorded to connect him to other musicians who performed local Kigisu music. After gathering details on the name of the musician, the nature of music one performs and the place of origin (village, parish, sub-county and district), Mafuko then looked for the musician in question. After finding the musician, he arranged for him to come to the music kiosk to make the recording. Where possible, the recorded musician could also direct him to the one he knew.

While the musicians Mafuko recorded (see discussion below) had their own compositions, he pointed out that he could also bring in other musicians to play such instruments like the harp and guitars to embellish songs accompanied by keyboards and tube fiddles (the latter known as *bihiriri* – singular *shihiriri*). In some cases, Mafuko implored some of the musicians to compose songs on particular topics – HIV/AIDS, famine, insecurity and hard work – especially after coming across an interesting incident. During the time he began his kiosk business, HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns were at their apex in Uganda. In early 1990s, various stakeholders were involved in spreading the anti-HIV/AIDS messages. Such people included medical people, political leaders, church ministers, NGOs, government officials and musicians. By encouraging the musicians to compose music on particular topics, the music kiosk owner, as the case of Mafuko demonstrates, engages in the practice of patronage of particular musics. To this end, music kiosks can occupy a central space in determining not only the music and dance to be collected, but also the nature of material to be created. I will return to this discussion later in Chapter Six.

[248] Most musicians in rural areas of Bugisu have not had their musics recorded and disseminated through such mechanical aids like tapes, CDs, DVDs or memory sticks. The performance context is the only platform for disseminating their music as the case of Wabutambi under section 4.5 has demonstrated.
[249] See section 2.3 for discussions on the various sampling techniques including snowball.

That Mafuko made a lot of recordings with the different musicians was reflected through the numerous volumes (albums) he accumulated with Bagisu musicians during the period he was in this business. These included: 1) George Khaukha, who was singing songs on several topical issues including family conflicts, famine, HIV/AIDS and politics. Out of the numerous songs Khaukha performed, Mafuko told me that he had four (4) volumes of the records dubbed 'Khaukha, Volume 1-4'. Volume 4 of Khaukha's music had not come on the market, it was still in Mafuko's custody by the time I conducted this study. Coming from Bumboi Sub-County (in Bungokho, Mbale District), Khaukha played a guitar and could sing in a narrative style where he recounted stories about certain incidences in society. His music was good for listening to due to the nature of the style Khaukha employed.[250] When I met him in September, 2005, Khaukha told me about a plan to have his old music re-recorded and put on a CD (and DVD) for circulation to his funs. Khaukha also alluded to the fact that Mafuko and his kiosk played a significant role in popularising him.[251]

While Christopher Maasa died before Mafuko entered the business of recording music, Mafuko told me that he has been at the fore front in promoting the former's music in 1990s. He made copies of Maasa's music and sold it to town dwellers. Mafuko said that promoting Massa's music encouraged him so much because many people liked this music. Besides singing about the NRA liberation war that was ragging on at that time, Maasa also sang about inheritance, traditional worship, money and other issues. Unlike Khaukha, Massa accompanied his singing with a keyboard. By the time he died in 1987, Maasa was one of the prominent popular musicians whose music had circulated in many parts of Bugisu (especially Mbale Town) where he had also staged live concerts. Wanzagiro[252] was another musician who had his music recorded and promoted by Mafuko. Wanzagiro played the guitar but Mafuko told me that he brought in another musician (Richard Nandala) to play the harp as a means of enriching the former's music. Before this, Nandala was performing with another group – Kutosi Group – but finally joined Wanzagiro and they performed together. Wanzagiro's son also came in and all the three began performing as a group. Mafuko noted

[250] Khaukha sings his songs in a story-telling style. His songs begin with introducing the story; he develops it through adding such techniques like repeating particular phrases or superimposing some melodies unto others and then concludes what he sings about. Due to the light texture of its music, the guitar does not overshadow his voice.

[251] By the time I met him, Khaukha had resorted to gospel music – performing with a local church choir in his village.

[252] Wanzagiro was from Buyobo Sub-County in Sironko District. Several research assistants told me that he was abducted by unknown people towards the end of 1990s and murdered. His body had never been recovered since the period he disappeared.

that Wanzagiro's music sold more than that of any other musician. By the time he came out of the business of recording and distributing this music in Mbale Town, Mafuko had sold over 10,000 copies of Wanzagiro's music.

Namasanda[253] was another musician recorded and promoted by Mafuko. Namasanda's most popular song was entitled *Nabyuma umulili we bafu* (the housefly which mourns the dead).[254] Like Khaukha, Namasanda was a single musical instrument performer who played a tube fiddle and sang in a narrative style. In addition to Khaukha, Namasanda and the musicians already mentioned, Tom Weboya, a musician from the nearby Bufumbo Sub-County, had his music recorded and circulated by Mafuko. Like Khaukha, Weboya was a guitarist – but Mafuko brought in Nandala who also played the harp to enrich Weboya's music. Besides the above musicians, there was Magayi Nakuku[255] who played a tube fiddle. According to Mafuko, Magayi's music was popular between 1991 and 1992. One of his songs was entitled *buliba buti nga nawele kale*[256] (it will be like at this time when I am already finished [meaning: dead]).

Rob Masaaba from Busiende Sub-County, Mbale District, was another musician who worked with Mafuko's music kiosk. Mafuko told me that Masaaba played the guitar and harp (together with his colleague called Mushikoma). Besides, Mafuko worked with Idi Masaaba, recording the latter's hit songs Nabudwale Part 1 and 2. The last group Mafuko worked with was Elgon Shining Stars. Mafuko told me that Elgon Shining Stars was a performing group from Bumawosa in Bududari (Sironko District) and had locally made guitars with amplifiers. This group performed in 1996 but Mafuko never sold their music despite recording it. He told me that the music was still under his custody when I met him for the interview since he could not have payback technology to play the music he had recorded on cassette tapes.

Moreover, Mafuko said that he quit his business because the building where he had rented a room for processing the music was taken over by Global Insurance Company.

[253] Namasanda was born in Buwabwala Sub-County, Bubulo East County (Manafwa District). His music featured a lot on Radio Uganda (by the time of this study, UBC Radio) during Mid-1990s.
[254] In this song, Namasanda recounts how Nabyuma (a very kind housefly) was almost buried together with the corpse on one of his mourning expeditions. Nabyuma told his wife to prepare for him some food before he could go to mourn the dead. He even mentioned that one never knows, it may be impossible to return (perhaps meaning that he could be buried together with the corpse). When he reached at the burial place, he entered the coffin to mourn the dead. Nabyuma followed the corpse up to the grave. He was almost buried together with the dead person although he finally escaped.
[255] Magayi also came from Buyobo Sub-County in Sironko District, just like Wanzagiro.
[256] This translation was in the Lugisu dialect spoken in North Bugisu (Sironko District), the place Mafuko was born.

Mafuko was not able to pay the high rent that had characterised Mbale Town due to the closure of Mbale Main Market to pave way for reconstruction.[257] Agakhan Group of Companies was Mafuko's landlord. What did he do in his kiosk? Mafuko had what he calls old music from 1960s and although this was made up of Lingala, Swahili, Kiganda, Kisoga, among other musics, a big collection of his musical materials were those composed by Bagisu popular musicians especially those who played the guitar and tube fiddle.[258] These songs were sung in Lugisu language and were covering day-to-day life situations; family conflicts, HIV/AIDS, war situations, famine and inheritance. By the time he left business in 2010, Mafuko had disseminated a lot of Kigisu musical material in many parts of Bugisu, especially Mbale Town. He said that there were substantial musics in his custody and was on cassette tapes. As I will discuss in Chapter Six, archival institutions like MAKWAA need to work with owners of music kiosks not only to devise means of storing the musical materials in the latter's custody, but also to digitise and disseminate them to the public.

To understand how Mafuko participated in disseminating Kigisu musical materials in this town, one needs to move around Mbale looking for songs by the generation of musicians mentioned above. Although most of these musicians' songs had not been digitised from cassette tapes unto CDs and other digital media thus impacting on their circulation around town, most owners of music kiosks during the time I conducted this study were dealing in new popular songs addressing contemporary issues in society. While musicians like Salima Betty Nafuna and Idi Masaba had reworked songs composed by old generation musicians like Maasa to suit new contexts, most research participants told me that the New X, Mafuko's kiosk, was at the fore front in championing the promotion and circulation of music by local musicians than any other music kiosk has done in the contemporary era. I was told that I had to look for Mafuko to check his 'store' so as to get some music composed by musicians like Wanzagiro, Namasanda and Massa. The two cases of music kiosks discussed in this Chapter are a representation of similar entities around Mbale Town.

[257] Mbale Main Market was the biggest centre from which business men and women who dealt in general merchandise operated. When this market was closed in 2010, many traders had to look for other places to conduct their businesses. Due to the large number of people who had been displaced, many landlords hiked rent for their premises, forcing those who could not offer high rates to quite business.

[258] Lingala is a language spoken mainly by people from the Eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Swahili (Kiswahili) is a Bantu language mainly spoken at the Eastern African coast and has spread to the interior of Africa including Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, DRC and South Sudan. Kiganda and Kisoga are terms used to denote something that belongs to the Baganda and Basoga peoples found in Central and Eastern Uganda respectively.

While the above two kiosks deal in what can generally be regarded as secular music (although *imbalu* music is also sacred in nature), I came across several other kiosks dealing in church music. Moreover, several churches in Mbale Town had devised means of keeping the recordings of musical materials, speeches and prayer meetings for future use. For example, when I visited Enos Khafu, the head of the media[259] crew at Pearl Haven, a Church located in the suburbs of Maluku in Mbale Town, he took me through the process the churches undergo to keep their materials. Khafu explained to me how his team selects what should be recorded, how they process the materials, keep and distribute them to possible end-users. One of the ways of disseminating musical materials by these churches is mainly through staging open-air crusades where they play pre-recorded music. Discussions on archival practices adopted by the different churches in and around Mbale Town are beyond the scope of this dissertation, they may be for future studies. In the following section, I provide an overview of other agents of archiving Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town.

5.4 Other Archival Agents for Kigisu Music and Dance in Mbale Town

The previous section was a discussion on how music kiosks champion the collection, circulation and preservation of Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. By discussing the processes through which Magomba and Mafuko collect, process and distribute *imbalu* among other musics and dances through their kiosks, I have demonstrated how these business entities become centres for archiving musical materials. They facilitate the collection, preservation, accessibility and use of musical material, not only by people in Mbale Town, but also by those living in other parts of the world. This section is a glimpse on other means or channels through which the Bagisu in Mbale Town collect, showcase, preserve and transmit their music and dance.

One other way Kigisu music and dance have been archived in Mbale Town is through the performances of *imbalu* rituals. More specifically, the activities involving the movement of candidates along the streets of Mbale Town during the month of August as they prepare for

[259] Unlike Bududa District, in Mbale Town, it also appeared to me that every church had a music system – with an amplifier, two or three loud speakers, a set of western drums, microphones and a keyboard. People who were charged with the task of leading the church members in song were what Khafu regarded as the 'media crew'. Some churches had more than one media crew (especially those churches which had more than one service). Media crews normally took strategic positions in the church. They sat in the front rows, so that whenever they were called upon, they could just march to the stage and begin performing the music. Khafu told me that in Pearl Haven Church, they had recording machines for capturing whatever they performed on every Sunday and these materials were kept for future reference.

circumcision translate into activities of showcasing and translating Kigisu music and dance to town dwellers (Magomba during an interview). As already pointed out, *imbalu* rituals are performed by all the Bagisu in the different districts forming this sub-region: Mbale, Sironko, Manafwa, Bududa and Bulambuli. To say that the majority of the *imbalu* parties who usually move in and around Mbale Town are from Bukonde, Bufumbo, Bungokho and the surrounding areas is not an understatement. Despite this, Magomba and other research participants told me that residents of Mbale Town also witness *imbalu* candidates from other parts of Bugisu. Moreover, these candidates put on costumes identifying where they are coming from. They also perform songs and dances that are easily identified with specific parts of Bagisu.

It is important to note that although *imbalu* can be regarded as a 'homogenous' ritual,[260] this study has revealed that the musics and dances integrated in these rituals are not uniform in the different parts of Bugisu. In the various *isonja* performances, for example, one can easily notice differences between what would be regarded as the *isonja* of Bududa and Manafwa on one hand and the one performed by the Bagisu living in places like Bukonde and Bufumbo (Bungokho North County) on the other hand. These differences manifest in terms of dance motifs and a slight variation in the costuming. Despite both groups using their right feet to stamp the ground while performing this dance, candidates from Bungokho north first stamp the ground with the right foot for a number of times. They then alternate the right and left feet before finally stamping the ground with the right foot. These candidates also shake the upper part of their bodies (jingling their shoulders for some time) before returning to the footwork.

Another unique feature associated with *isonja* of Bungokho north is the practice by candidates to tie a piece of skin (or cloth) round the ankles of both legs. These candidates complete the costuming by having a skin around their waists besides decorating the circlets worn around the fore head with pieces of cloth and polythene materials.[261] On the other hand, candidates from Manafwa and Bududa Districts do not have extra costumes. Moreover,

[260] All the Bagisu perform *imbalu* as a means of initiating boys into manhood. Moreover, the procedures of conducting these rituals are the same. Items such as yeast, mud and animal chyme are associated with similar symbolic meanings, meanings related to reproduction. There is also the knife (known as *inyembe*) which is linked to the spirit of *nanyembe* (*kumusambwa kwo Nanyembe*). Throughout Bugisu, in spite of *imbalu* rituals taking a full year, there are three days where the rituals are very intense – the first day is when candidates are smeared with yeast, the second day is when they are shaved off the hair as a countdown to operation on the boy's penis, a ritual that is performed on the third day.

[261] See the nature of costumes the boy carried shoulder high in video clip 006 has worn.

their basic dance motifs are stamping of the ground with the right foot after bending the back and protruding the elbows. Most of the songs each of these *isonja* groups sing relate to their immediate environment – using songs to name different places they originate from and the histories related to their respective communities. Research participants in Mbale Town told me that as the *imbalu* parties move along the streets of this town, the Bagisu are able to identify the part of Bugisu these candidates come from by merely listening to the songs they perform as well as looking at the nature of costumes.

In this way, these candidates participate in "performing their communities" by showcasing and disseminating *imbalu* musics and dances of their specific communities to the town dwellers. Like the case of *imbalu* performances described in relation to Namasho in Chapter Four has demonstrated, circumcision performances become a site for the Bagisu to open their archive to showcase and disseminate music and dances related to these rituals to other people in Mbale Town. In the process, people access and those who have recording gadgets like tape recorders, CDs and memory sticks are able to capture these items for their future use. Moreover, the *imbalu* materials showcased and transmitted are those related to costuming and histories associated with the specific clans these candidates are born.

Furthermore, the various Radio Stations broadcasting from Mbale Town are among the agents that archive and disseminate Kigisu music and dance in this setting. These are mainly the musics which are composed and performed by Bagisu popular musicians including Tom Weboya, Idi Masaaba and Teddy Masaaba. While Weboya and Idi Masaaba address topical issues through their songs, when I did fieldwork in Mbale Town, I established that Weboya and Teddy Masaaba also perform gospel music. Weboya's song *Weele umulayi* (God is Good) was among the hits played on various radio stations. Similarly, Teddy Masaaba's song *ali nisiisa* (He has Grace) is popular and played on several radio stations broadcasting from Mbale Town. While Idi Masaaba's music is based on *imbalu* circumcision rituals, he also sings about family conflicts and other social issues.

In addition to music by popular musicians such as those mentioned above, it was also revealed to me that the musics and dances performed during *imbalu* inauguration events at BCG are among the material collected and transmitted by several radio stations in Mbale Town. When I tuned to OPG in 2014, I listened to clips of the performances held at Bumutoto in 2012. These include speeches of invited guests and recitation of prayers to bless those preparing for circumcision. There are also *imbalu* performances as well as the musics

and dances performed as candidates are taken for pen-surgery. Based on these circumstances, I also argue that *imbalu* inauguration events of a specific year at BCG become a moment when various radio stations in Mbale retrieve material that was previously recorded and disseminate them for public consumption.

While other Bagisu (and people from other parts of Uganda) can tune and listen to programmes broadcasted on radios including OPG, Step FM, Signal FM and Elgon FM (Makwa, 2015), residents of Mbale Town have a better access to what is aired on these radio stations. People's close proximity to the radio stations in this town makes it easier for them to tune, listen and consume musical (and dance) materials broadcasted. Without doubt, the frequencies of OPG, Signal, Step and Elgon FM can be best accessed in Mbale Town, which has enabled town dwellers to access and consume the musics broadcasted there. According to Aidah Nabutsebi, a 20-year old woman who was staying in Namatala suburb at the time of conducting this study, besides occasionally going to Mbale Municipal stadium to watch the local Bagisu musicians launch their albums, *imbalu* inauguration events as held at BCG are among the 'most' accessible Kigisu cultural materials she 'consumes' while in this town (interview Saturday January 17, 2015). Nabutsebi said that whenever the month of August (during even-numbered years) approaches, her attention turns to the OPG Radio Programme *Bwasheele naako* ('The day has 'broken' with news') hosted by Emma Watundu, popularly known as *Shindu twa*, to listen to *imbalu* songs, especially those captured from BCG during previous years. Makwa (2015:315) writes about the OPG radio and the *bwasheele nako* programme as follows:

> OPG [Open Gate Radio] … broadcasts most of its programmes in Lugisu and plays music composed by a number of Bagisu musicians. One of the programmes on this radio station is *Bwasheele nako* ("The day has 'broken' with news"), hosted by Emma Watundu, popularly known as *Shindu twa*. During this programme, which kicks off at 5:00 am, people call in from all parts of Bugisu and give "breaking" news. Most of the callers talk about incidents of adultery, theft and witchcraft, among other topics. Callers are also encouraged to request songs of their choice, which are subsequently played during this programme. As songs are played, the programme host gives background information about the song, outlining when the song was composed, who the composer is, and explaining important messages embedded in the song.

By tuning to listen to *imbalu* music as performed at BCG and broadcasted by OPG Radio, Nabutsebi was presenting radios as a conduit through which the Bagisu town dwellers

access their musical heritage and consume it as a means of proclaiming their identity in this cosmopolitan setting. The act of tuning to these radio stations and listening to materials associated with different events also indicates that these Radio Stations have developed a systematic way of recording, documenting and archiving such materials for playback sessions in future. The question of radio stations as archives of Kigisu music and dance is beyond the scope of this study.

Relatedly, when I watched several music videos of local Bagisu musicians during fieldwork, I established that the events of inauguration of *imbalu* rituals at Bumutoto are also used as material for compositions by musicians like Idi Masaabi. Idi Masaaba's music videos are built on *imbalu* dance performances – especially *kadodi* and *isonja* – upon which he superimposes the voice to narrate his stories. His hit '*imbalu ye Bamasaaba*' (*imbalu* of Bamasaaba) is based on the activities held at BCG. In this song, Idi Masaaba narrates the history of *imbalu* rituals, the Bagisu's hold on these rituals, and why every male Mugisu should undergo these rituals. He shows candidates performing *isonja* and *kadodi* at BCG. Like *isonja*, *kadodi* is among the popular *imbalu* dances. It is a dance performed to accompany *imbalu* parties as they move from place to place – visiting relatives or going to particular cultural sites to perform *imbalu* rituals including the smearing of candidates with soil from the sacred swamp as described in Chapter Four. Masaaba adopts *kadodi* beats in his compositions. Due to its danceable nature, Masaaba's music is very popular among people of different categories in Mbale Town: men and women in drinking places, mechanics in garages, young people and old folks in homes. The music is mainly disseminated on CDs and DVDs and sold in Mbale Town. As I have illustrated through the case of music kiosks, the practice of putting these musics and dances on CDs and DVDs and disseminating them in Mbale Town enhances further archiving of these musical and dance materials.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter was informed by the need to understand the archival practices adopted to safeguard Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. In other words, how do people in Mbale Town create, process, showcase, transmit, preserve and manage Kigisu music and dance? In order to illuminate these issues, there was need to discuss the context of Mbale Town, also providing a glimpse on the nature of activities people engage in as part of their daily routine. The chapter has demonstrated that despite not having a word to denote an archive, like their

counterparts in Bududa District, the Bagisu in Mbale Town engage in archiving through their day-to-day activities. Moreover, although the town dwellers are also engaged in creating their own cultural materials, I have shown that what is produced in other parts of Bugisu forms a significant part of Kigisu musical and dance materials transmitted and consumed in Mbale Town. From *imbalu* circumcision ritual musics and dances – especially those that are integrated in the events staged at BCG – to musics composed and performed by Bagisu popular musicians, it becomes explicit that Mbale is a centre where cultural materials from other parts of Bugisu are brought for further processing, packaging, showcasing, transmission and preservation.

Lastly, this Chapter has demonstrated that although they are always associated with illegal business in the music industry by pirating other people's music for sale, music kiosks occupy a significant position in creating, arranging, preserving, circulating and managing Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. These music centres deal in music and dance materials collected from elsewhere, process, add value and repackage them before circulation to end-users. Music kiosks not only record music and dance materials on CDs and DVDs; they also add embellishments to enhance the artistic flavour of these materials. More importantly, music kiosks act as a link between musicians and members of the public. As such, the position they occupy can be harnessed to enhance the promotion and transmission of musical and dance materials which would otherwise remain unknown to diverse audiences. Like I have pointed out in Chapter Four, the context under which the Bagisu in Mbale Town live has influenced the nature of archival practices they adopt to safeguard their music and dance. In the following Chapter, I discuss the more-inclusive postcolonial archive, an archival practice that can result from the interplay between colonial and indigenous archiving and how this archive can champion sustainable preservation of music and dance among contemporary Bagisu.

Chapter Six

The More-Inclusive Postcolonial Archive for Music and Dance among Contemporary Bagisu

6.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, I draw on Chapters Three, Four and Five to articulate the characteristic features, advantages, and shortcomings of the indigenous and colonial archiving, the two approaches to archiving music and dance among the Bagisu. My intention is to create a point of departure for discussions on the more-inclusive post-colonial archive that contemporary Bagisu can adopt to safeguard music and dance in their different contexts. Through history, colonial and indigenous archival practices have provided a means for preserving music and dance among the Bagisu. However, the fact that they are 'inward-looking' or 'closed-ended' makes them unsuitable for this century. By 'inward-looking' or 'closed-ended', I refer to a tendency by an archival practice to serve mainly people involved in its creation thus leaving out other people who may want to participate in the creation, access and use of its materials. As such, I have argued for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive to act as a site where musicians, dancers, community members, cultural leaders, fieldworkers, music collectors, archivists, among other stakeholders, can interact to address questions surrounding the nature of material to be collected for archiving. This type of archive also ensures that the material preserved is accessed by end-users besides being a platform where different people collaborate to mitigate copyright and ethics, among other fundamental issues twenty-first century archives grapple with.

Discussions in this Chapter are presented in two main sections. The first section is a summary of indigenous and colonial archival practices. It also makes a recapitulation on the socio-cultural, religious, economic and technological conditions of the Bagisu to justify why they may need to adopt a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for sustainable preservation of their music and dance. In the second section, I discuss the more-inclusive postcolonial archive for music and dance among the Bagisu. By discussing the issues that are essential in archiving music and dance among contemporary Bagisu, I demonstrate how the different stakeholders can collaborate to preserve these materials. Before engaging in these discussions, there is need to provide a recapitulation of the archival practices among the Bagisu.

6.2 Nature of Archival Practices for Music and Dance among the Bagisu: A Recapitulation

In this study, I have identified two approaches to archiving music and dance among the Bagisu, namely 1) indigenous and 2) colonial archival practices. I have used the notion of indigenous archival practices to denote the approaches that are developed by the Bagisu to preserve music and dance in their community. This view relates to Kreps' (2009:194) insights in her work on indigenous curation where she relates the idea of "indigenous curation" to "non-western models" of arranging and preserving cultural materials. In the context of the current study, indigenous archiving may be synonymous to non-western archival practices, not those initiated by colonial masters. As this study has demonstrated, the outstanding characteristic feature underlying this archival practice is its relationship to the living conditions of the people. In other words, what are the socio-cultural, religious, economic and technological conditions of the people? Are they living in a rural area or an urban one?

In this dissertation, I have subdivided indigenous archiving into several categories depending on the cultural context of the Bagisu. For example, in Bududa District, the most prevalent approaches are: 1) social events as sites of archiving music and dance; and 2) archiving music and dance through the activities of local musicians. While the act of staging social events as a technique for archiving music and dance among the Bagisu was more pronounced during precolonial times, this practice is still one of the approaches the Bagisu in Bududa District use to archive music and dance during this twenty-first century. The examples of the funeral ritual dance and *imbalu* circumcision ceremonies presented in Chapter Four concretise this claim. I drew on Taylor's (2003) ideas on embodied performance to underscore the view that acts of staging performances become occasions of retrieving, showcasing and transmitting related material to people. Describing a performance as ephemeral is presenting it as something that vanishes as soon as people go off the stage. However, as Taylor (2003:5) has asserted, embodied performances have "staying power" since they are "coterminous with memory and history". This view implies that a performance brings about memories of the past and therefore participates in the transfer and continuity of information from one generation to another.

In Chapter Four, I have discussed how in Bududa, the technique of capturing social events as well as the music and dance associated with them is achieved through the maintenance of special people charged with the custodianship of these events. These

custodians are normally elders belonging to particular lineages. The central position they occupy enables them to direct community members on the 'dos' and 'don'ts' of the ritual or any other social event thus ensuring that its intended purpose is realised. More so, their role puts them in 'favourable' positions to access information on the ritual as well as music and dance, which they pass over to future generations. As they perform their roles, custodians of social events are required to transfer one's mantle to another person whenever someone becomes old.[262]Examples of custodians of social events considered in this dissertation include *uwe tsingoma tso mufu* (the custodian of funeral drums), *uwe ingoma ye khushebusa* (the custodian of the reminding drum) and *namyenya* (song leader).

Uwe tsingoma tso mufu is an elder assigned the role of keeping funeral drums. As part of his responsibility, this elder provides the drums when a member of his lineage or the wider community dies. He also ensures that those who play the drums are available whenever the ritual is performed. Besides having knowledge about the rhythms played on these drums, he knows the motifs displayed during the funeral dancing. Likewise, *uwe ingoma ye khushebusa* takes the custodianship of the reminding drum and plays this drum to remind the community members about specific *imbalu* rituals during the period these ceremonies are performed. In addition, there is also *namyenya*, a term generally used to denote any person who leads songs during a specific communal function. Although every social occasion boasts of its own song leader, the notion of *nanyenya* in this community is usually used in reference to someone who leads songs during *imbalu* circumcision rituals. In these rituals, *namyenya*'s role is more pronounced when candidates perform *isonja*, a circumcision dance intended to impart into boys the skill of dancing and composing songs. While *namyenya's* position is not hereditary as anyone with the required skills can instruct *imbalu* candidates in song and dance, *uwe tsingoma tso mufu* and *uwe ingoma ye khushebusa* are roles that must be inherited by people belonging to the same family lineage. These custodians do not only pass over the custodianship of the physical objects (drums), they also ensure that the information surrounding their roles is handed over to those who take over from them. From the above discussions, it becomes explicit that by upholding the role of these custodians and events over

[262] Age in this case can be related to the physical strength one has to possess in order to perform the role expected of him or her. Most roles associated with the custodianship of a particular dance or song genre involve demonstrating dance motifs or drum rhythms to help community members understand what is expected of them as they perform the ritual (see video clip 002 where Wabuna and Wamundu are demonstrating how to dance during the funeral ritual dance). In video clip 007, song leaders (*banamyenya* – men with microphones and dressed in animal skins) are dancing with *imbalu* candidates. As such, if the person in charge of such rituals establishes that s/he is not strong enough to physically get involved in the performance, s/he hands over the office to another person.

which they preside, society indirectly archives such activities and the associated music and dance.

Besides custodians acting as tools for capturing social events as well as the musics and dances integrated in them, the various cultural sites that exist in the different parts of Bududa District are a means of storing and safeguarding cultural items performed there. I have already demonstrated how Namasho cultural site stands as a place where circumcision candidates go to be smeared with mud (*litosi*) during the performance of these rituals. This place also acts as an archive where music, dance and other ritual regalia for the descendants of Lutseshe are assembled and showcased to the public. In this case, the archive of music and dance manifests itself in form of a physical place, which is something 'located' in a playground, the confluence of rivers or a sacred bush. Further still, under the category of indigenous archival practices, there is archiving through the activities of local musicians and dancers. As they create the music, the local musicians act as repositories where the Bagisu in Bududa archive musical materials. They keep the music in their minds and transmit it during the numerous performances staged in the community. The view about musicians as a representation of archives depicts a situation where the creator of the archival material also becomes the archive itself. In most cases, the demise of the musician implies the demise of the songs (and dances) s/he has created over the years.

Among the indigenous archival practices that I have also considered, is the mediation of Kigisu music and dance through the machinations of music kiosks in Mbale Town. Because of looking for music and dance from other parts of Bugisu and bringing it to these centres for processing and dissemination to the public, music kiosks have acted as spaces for collecting, processing, commodifying, storing and circulating Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. Although people who engage in these businesses usually acquire musical materials free of charge, those who access them are the town dwellers who can buy the CD, DVD or any media upon which these items are inscribed. Moreover, this archive is meant for people with access to internet as the musics and dances are sometimes uploaded on video-hosting sites like YouTube for dissemination to different parts of the world.

In addition to indigenous archival practices, the second approach to archiving music and dance among the Bagisu is what I have called the colonial archival practice. I have used this concept to refer to an approach that saw the adoption/inception of centralised archiving. It is a situation involving the establishment of recognised centres for the collection,

arrangement, documentation, cataloguing, safeguarding and management of cultural items such as music and dance. As scholars including Keil (1984), Shelemay (1991), De Graaf (2011) and Morton (2004) have noted, making recordings of music, dance, speeches and other oral items and taking them to specific central places for safeguarding was enhanced by the invention of recording technology during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[263] This practice was further motivated by what is generally known as the need to salvage cultures which were 'dying' because of the effects of globalisation.[264] Because of housing these materials in a recognised repository, there was need to employ trained personnel to document, arrange, preserve, manage and facilitate accessibility to this material by people who would need it for research, teaching and other purposes.

While I have categorised archiving through music kiosks as an indigenous archival practice, their activities re-echo the above colonial approach to archiving music and dance. Not only are music kiosks engaged in collecting and processing musical materials in centralised places, the musics and dances they collect are also repackaged and sold as finished products for use in other contexts.[265] However, among the contemporary Bagisu, what is reminiscent of the colonial approach to archiving music and dance is manifested through the activities of most fieldworkers. Fieldworkers still go to the communities and record music and dance as part of their research activities, which they either keep in their homes or deposit in archives that belong to institutions they come from. Although MAKWAA has started the practice of taking back music and dance to communities where such items were previously recorded, musical materials taken by scholars to institution-based

[263] See also Kunst (1959:12); Seeger & Chaudhuri (2004:4); Kosh (2008:155); McKemmish et al (2011); McKemmish, Gilliland & Ketelaar (2005); Thram & Mandy (2011) as well as Thram (2014). What pervades discussions by these scholars is the idea that technology ushered in a new era of "mediated musical experience" (Shelemay, 1991:227), a situation where people used machines to capture and store music, dance and other oral materials for future use. The greatest technological discovery of the late nineteenth century was a phonograph by Thomas Edison. A phonography became the "machine that launched the record industry" (Morton ,2004:1). This view points to how this device precipitated the invention of subsequent mechanical aids such as reel-to-reel, LPs and cassette tapes upon which recordings were inscribed. In his study of the endangered languages in a number of Russian communities, De Graaf (2011) shows how prior to the invention of the phonograph people depended on memory to store information. He also discusses how note-taking had become the most prevalent mode of keeping field data, also illuminating the challenges it brought about. However, "it was not long after [the] invention [of the phonograph] that ethnologists, folklorists, linguists, composers, and amateurs began to use the new machine to collect information on the oral data and music of cultural groups" (De Graaf, 2011:28). Across the world, the availability of the phonograph and other recording gadgets including gramophones made it possible for travellers, missionaries, government agents and scholars to make recordings in the areas they worked. Such materials were later used in the analysis of people's musical cultures through playback sessions giving rise to comparative musicology, a discipline that later metamorphosed into ethnomusicology.

[264] See for example, Growe (1981); Titon (1992); Amselle (2004:84); Dondolo (2005:133); Grant (2010); Moore (2013) for more discussions on the effect of globalisation on the material culture of traditional communities.

[265] In a way, some of these archival practices may overlap in terms of their classification.

archives are usually not accessed by community members. Because most people do not access them, such musics and dances may also be used for purposes not similar to what the Bagisu use them for. More still, like it was the case with colonial agents, scholars decide what to record without consulting the community leaders and elders. Another example I would like to cite here is the practice by some people in Bududa District to record music and dance and keep it in their homes as the case of Michael Kisibo has demonstrated in section 4.6 of Chapter Four.

Both the indigenous and colonial approaches to archiving music and dance are associated with several advantages. Considering the indigenous approach, we see that people adopt an archival practice that resonates with the setting in which they live. While the use of this approach may demand that certain items should not be considered for archiving because they do not suit the aspirations of people in a specific context, it is always items that the community values during a particular period that it preserves. As such, adopting this approach saves the community resources which would be wasted in keeping materials of no immediate value (Chaudhuri & Seeger, 2004). When I asked Lawerence Wapayule, a cultural leader, whether he knew any custodian of the *shikongo* cleansing ritual dance that I could interview for my study, his response was as follows:

> *Sheesi uboona nisho sheesi khuli nasho. Khubiikha byeesi khuboona khuli babanu babikana. Nenga barura khushintu sho, si shilishangu khushinyola ta. Kamashino ke kumusiro kwe shikongo bakalekha khaale. Nenga kumusambwa kwakhuambile, khulakula khwashiipa.*
>
> What you see is what we have. We keep what people like. But if that event has been abandoned, it is not easy to get it. The *shikongo* ritual dance was abandoned long ago. But if we get 'spirits' [meaning: if spirits 'demand' for it], we consult diviners and perform it (interview, 18 October, 2013).[266]

However, looking at the socio-cultural, religious, economic and technological changes among the Bagisu, this approach to archiving does not anchor well in this era. Firstly, the Bagisu have embraced western education and religious practices. In Bududa District and

[266] This idea also shows that social events that are associated with certain spirits do not die out completely as their performance also depends on 'demands' from supernatural beings. As Wapayule has put it, despite *shikongo* being abandoned by the community, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of performing this ritual dance during this twenty-first century since spirits may 'dictate' that it is performed. Wapayule told me that in such incidences, the community goes back into its history to look for people who were charged with that role to ask them to officiate during the rituals. However, my experience shows that some of these custodians may have died long time ago and others may refuse to take up their roles as the case of Mupuya quoted above demonstrates.

Mbale Town, not only have people taken their children to the numerous pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, majority of them have also taken their children to educational institutions outside Bugisu. The acquisition of western knowledge has threatened the traditional lifestyle since the educated tend to under look traditional ways of doing things – dressing, language and ritual practices. Indeed, several scholars have noted that while most African intellectuals are normally 'proud' of 'their' cultural forms, they refuse taking over responsibilities that come with such practices. Practices like ritual performances are considered primitive or backward. According to Mudimbe (1985:160), this attitude is part of the "signs of an episteme" to reproduce colonial prejudices about Africa and her cultural norms. The views of Wilson Mupuya, a 30-year old man, who had just finished his university degree in 2013 can be quoted to concretise the above assertion.

When I met Mupuya, he was among the people using their mobile phones to 'capture' the funeral ritual dance in Bumukonya. I asked him where he will take the recordings he was capturing. Mupuya emphasised to me that the recordings were going to be part of his 'library' so that his children can access them in future. I was curious to know if he can accept to play a role in *imbalu* or any other ritual if elders of his community can appoint him. Mupuya said that "engaging in custodianship of *imbalu* rituals is subjecting oneself to backwardness" (Interview, Tuesday September 29, 2013). He demanded to know what old men would do if he officiated during these practices. Mupuya's assertions show that such cultural performances like *imbalu* or funeral ritual dancing are a preserve of old people, those who have not been 'exposed' to the 'modern' world. The 'backwardness' in *imbalu* rituals can be associated with how elders run with candidates as they take them to cultural sites or during activities where people may be expected to preside over the slaughter of animals for sacrifices and keeping ritual regalia on behalf of one's society. These prejudices from some community members make this form of archiving untenable during the contemporary period. Because such material may appear to be 'useless' by people of the current situation, some community members tend to forget that such items can be of value to future generations. My experience with the Klaus Wachsmann collections shows that most of the songs he recorded in late 1940s and early 1950s are no longer performed among the Bagisu. Yet these materials may be useful to people of the current generation. As such, if Wachsmann had not recorded them, such musics could be completely 'dead'. But since such recordings are now available at MAKWAA, those Bagisu who may need them can liaise with this archive and access them. Because the community has the tendency to discard rituals deemed insignificant thus losing

substantial amounts of information, the recordings kept in archives can be used to revive lost traditions among the Bagisu. I will return to this point later when summarising the advantages of keeping music and dance through making recordings and storing them elsewhere.

There is also the question of western religious practices. As part of their effort to justify colonisation and Christianisation projects, colonial administrators in Uganda, like in other lands that experienced colonial rule, demonised indigenous musical practices and likened them to satanic performances. As Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2015:34) has also noted, churches did not allow the playing of traditional musical instruments or dancing during services since such practices were regarded as profane. In cases where traditional tunes were allowed in church, certain texts were censored and replaced with what was considered appropriate (Okpewho, 1992:8; Sanga, 2011:36; see also Ssempijja, 2011, 2012b). Among the Bagisu, most of the converts (especially Christians) have tended to carry on the colonial stereotypes about African forms of cultural expression including music and dance.

While traditional (mainstream) churches no longer possess the absolute power they had when Uganda was under colonial rule, in Bugisu, they still have influence on how their members should lead their lives. Most Christians do not want to engage in traditional practices for fear of being reprimanded by the church. More so, in spite of the influx of new religious sects under the Pentecostal Movement (PM)[267] making mainstream churches 'relax' their stance on members who participate in traditional rituals, some of the members have embraced Christian teachings to the extent of dissociating themselves from performances viewed as ungodly by the church.[268] In an interview with Wabuna (the custodian of funeral drums I have already quoted in this dissertation), he revealed to me how his son was not ready to take over the custodianship of funeral drums despite the former's assurances that this role is something 'bestowed' unto their family by ancestors. Wabuna's son had viewed the practice of funeral dancing as something that goes against his 'faith'.[269] This scenario also

[267] See Basoga (2012) on his study of Pentecostal churches in Kampala City, Uganda.

[268] There is also what I would call the 'post-Christian discourse' – a situation where some people in Uganda are calling for the revival of traditional religions to operate side by side with those adopted from the western world.

[269] While conducting fieldwork in Bududa, I met a group of musicians who perform music during beer parties and asked them for an appointment so that I could interview them and perhaps record their music. On the day we were supposed to meet, two of the musicians –Kusolo Wamundu and Watetela – came. Kusolo Wamundu played a wooden trough (*lulwelo*) and Watetela was a vocalist. The one who did not come was supposed to play a tube fiddle (*shihiriri*). As Kusolo Wamundu could not perform the wooden trough without his colleague for the tube fiddle, we agreed to meet again after a week in order for the full ensemble to be present. On the day we had agreed to meet, Kusolo Wamundu did not turn up. It was after waiting for over three hours that we were told that his children had scolded him for engaging in backward and satanic activities. One of his neighbours told me how the former's sons had threatened to burn his musical instrument as a deterrent to perform music in

shows how certain aspects of indigenous archiving come with risks of losing valuable information since the various custodians may die without having successors in place.

Like the indigenous archival practices, colonial approaches to archiving music and dance in a community like Bugisu are associated with several advantages and disadvantages. One advantage of colonial approaches to archiving relates to the establishment of what I have called centralised places for safeguarding material considered to be valuable to future generations. As De Graaf (2011:28) observes, the tendency to collect musical items, inscribe them on mechanical aids like reel-to-reel tapes, LPs, cassette tapes, CDs, DVDs and memory sticks, has marked a significant phase in efforts towards the 'preservation' of musical heritage around the world. Because of the ability to make recordings and keep them elsewhere, some communities have drawn on such materials to revive their lost traditions[270] and provide evidence in court to reclaim rights on properties confiscated during the colonial rule. More so, recordings kept by archival institutions have enhanced teaching and research in schools and universities. They have also become a conduit for community members to link with their dead relatives[271] (Seeger & Chaudhuri, 2004:4; Kosh, 2008:155; Thram & Carvery, 2011:87; McKemmish et al, 2011; Fargion, 2012:54). Indeed, given the pervasiveness of western technology in the lifestyle of contemporary Bagisu, making recordings of custodians of social events and keeping the information with archives like MAKWAA can be among the solutions of curbing the shortcomings associated with archiving through social events. In relation to the above views, I have already demonstrated how ritual elders usually die with substantial amounts of information which is significant in constructing the identity of their communities.[272] In her work on oral traditions and the politics of the archive, Hamilton (2002:224) argues that scholars need to find a "way of recording, conserving and

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beer parties. His children had converted to Christianity and would not allow their father to carry on 'old', 'backward' and 'ungodly' practices.

[270] The Bagisu can use recordings made by Wachsmann to revive some of the musics performed during last funeral rites and *imbalu*, among other rituals.

[271] When we repatriated recordings to West Nile (Uganda) as the MAKWAA research team, we came to Koboko District where Wachsmann had recorded some music. In Liru Sub-County where we had gathered community members to listen to those recordings, Phillip Banya sprang to his feet after hearing the voice of his late father in the song. We could clearly 'see' his excitement when he exclaimed "Oh, you have brought my father to life today. I am going to sleep very peacefully because I have heard my father". We gave him the cassette tape containing the music to go and continue playing it from his home.

[272] After the funeral ritual dance as I have discussed in Chapter Four, I asked Nyelele, my research assistant, why he insisted that I had to go and capture the performance in question. Although I had anticipated his answer, I wanted to confirm it from him. Nyelele underscored the fact that people had embraced western lifestyle and it may make it hard for those expected to take charge of rituals like *ingoma yo mufu* to freely take up their responsibilities. He argued that I was in a 'better' position to use my cameras and capture those performances whenever an 'opportunity' comes up.

inventorying these materials" before they vanish away. I will return to this discussion later in the Chapter.

Generally, despite colonial and indigenous archival practices being associated with advantages as already noted, the 'inward-looking' / 'closed-ended' nature of these approaches makes them 'unsustainable' for the twenty first century. I have evoked the ideas of 'inward-looking' and 'closed-endedness' to underscore the fact that the perpetuators of the indigenous and colonial archives are primarily inclined on serving the needs of their immediate 'constituencies', with people from outside their vicinity being left out. Looking at archiving music and dance through social events, for example, it becomes explicit that the nature of materials created, preserved and disseminated can only be accessible by the Bagisu in that particular community and at the time of performance.[273] Similarly, considering music kiosks, one can clearly see that the nature of materials collected, processed and transmitted is only determined by the owners of these businesses. Music kiosk owners also determine the nature of users of the musics and dances they process and disseminate. Colonial archiving is also adopted with the intention of serving the needs of institutions where the material is housed. As it has always been the case, archival institutions operate under strict policies which define what and why certain materials should be collected and archived so as to serve the mission and vision of the institution.

This unidirectional way of archiving deprives other people the opportunity of participating in the creation, management, accessibility and use of archival material. In an article on how to establish an archival practice for post-apartheid South Africa, McEvans (2003) re-echoes the arguments presented above. He demonstrates how South Africa under the apartheid rule used the archive to mute the voices of certain sections of society. Not only was the black race excluded from the process of producing and archiving knowledge, women were also affected by such policies. They did not participate in discussions on what to collect for archives and how such material should be made accessible to the general public. Knowledge produced by the black race was hardly incorporated in 'mainstream' knowledge. To McEvans, post-apartheid South Africa needs to bring on board various categories of

[273] This view can be used to explain the varieties existing in *imbalu* circumcision music and dance in the different parts of Bugisu. As I have already pointed out, such music and dance are created to resonate with the context in which people find themselves. Similarly, in relation to funeral ritual dances, different parts of Bugisu perform different funeral dances. *Ingoma yo mufu* is a funeral ritual dance performed in southern Bugisu (Bududa and Manafwa Districts). In north Bugisu, a funeral ritual dance is known as *libandu*. Although these two dances are performed during the same context, they display different musics and dance motifs. Issues related to similarities and differences associated with these funeral dances are beyond the scope of this study.

people in an attempt to reconstruct collective memories of society through the archive.[274] Furthermore, when Shetty & Bellamy (2000:25) call for the need by those engaged in creating what they regard as "postcolonial archives" to always "measure silences", their ideas are informed by the view that historically, archives are largely inward-looking, a trait which made them to exclude other categories of people from their activities.[275]

Like the above scholars, I argue for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for the preservation of music and dance among contemporary Bagisu. While the use of the term an 'all-inclusive' postcolonial archive can also articulate my views about the nature of postcolonial archive I have proposed here, I prefer the notion of the 'more-inclusive' archive to demonstrate that one cannot enumerate 'all' the stakeholders involved in archiving a community's materials. These people come from different backgrounds and have varied missions and visions. Moreover, I do not want to claim that all of them can benefit from the archive in equal measure. Therefore, I have used the notion of 'more-inclusive' to present this archive as a space that brings together musicians, dancers, community members, cultural leaders, archivists, fieldworkers (music collectors), among other stakeholders, to achieve 'sustainable' preservation of a community's cultural items. In spite of not all these stakeholders being able to benefit from this archive in equal measure, how and on what issues can they collaborate to create this type of archive? These are the issues I discuss in subsections 6.3.1 – 6.3.3. However, I find it imperative to first demonstrate how the idea of sustainability is essential in ensuring the establishment of a more-inclusive postcolonial archive.

6.3 Between Indigenous and Colonial: Towards a More-inclusive Postcolonial Archive for 'Sustainable' Preservation of Music and Dance among Contemporary Bagisu

Discussions in the previous section have demonstrated that neither the indigenous nor colonial archival practice can stand independently if our ultimate goal is to serve the needs of different categories of people. In this study, I argue that archivists, fieldworkers (music collectors), musicians, dancers, community members, cultural officers, among other stakeholders, need to collaborate to create a more-inclusive postcolonial archive. While

[274] See also Peterson (2002:29) who notes that colonialists, especially in countries like South Africa, denied that there is nothing worth archiving about Africans. Africans were looked at as a race which did not have a history. Peterson notes that in cases where they had to archive forms of indigenous knowledge, they had to "reshape and appropriate such 'archives' into the service of colonialism".
[275] See also, Kurtz (2007:64) for similar discussions.

musicians and community members have historically participated in the collection of materials for centralised archives, their role has always stopped at collection level. At this stage, musicians and community members are usually consulted on basic issues including the process of composing songs, performance contexts of the music and dance and the role of these materials in society. Most decisions on what to collect and why certain musics and dances should be archived at the expense of others, are taken by archivists and collectors (fieldworkers). Community members, musicians, dancers and cultural leaders need to play a role as stakeholders, to make decisions as partners in the archival process. I argue that this approach to archiving culminates into the establishment of archives that are 'sustainable' because they are valued by the different stakeholders.

Ethnomusicologists who have engaged in debates about the concept of sustainability have used this term in different ways. In spite of this, they underscore the need to adopt approaches for the study and use of musical materials with the aim of fostering continuity of the musical cultures they study. In her discussions on the place of musical recordings in the study of historical ethnomusicology, Thram (2014:319) considers sustainability in terms of how music archives can be able to "source and maintain adequate funding to [enable the archival institution] survive and thrive". By evoking the notion of sustainability, Thram shows that the activities of archival institutions as they acquire, process, catalogue, preserve and disseminate musical materials should be ongoing, a venture that is primarily determined by the availability of financial resources. Her views, as mainly expressed through the work on repatriation of digital heritage of ILAM to source communities, are captured through the following excerpt:

> [How can archives] source and maintain adequate funding[?]There is an ongoing need for funding for basic operations such as accession and preservation of collections through cataloguing and digitising, dissemination via online access, production of audiovisual and print publications, research projects and research publications. There is also a need for funds for outreach and education activities more generally – not to mention repatriation projects – since institutional support from national governments and/or universities that house archives is never enough. Writing project proposals to secure outside funding is necessary (Thram, 2015:71-72).

To make archival institutions sustainable, Thram argues for fundraisings, distribution of archival recordings through CD sales and making publications for schools to be distributed

at a fee.[276] Other scholars engaged in debates on sustainability are Treloyn & Emberly (2013). These scholars evoke the concept of sustainability in their discussions on technology. The questions that they pose relate to how archives can ensure that the materials (especially recordings) they collect and preserve are kept in formats that are durable in future. As Waters (2006:143) also observes, practitioners of the archive during this twenty-first century grapple with changing technologies, which adversely affect their work. To this end, archival institutions need to keep themselves abreast on issues of technology since the media as well as the soft wares upon which material is captured and stored are constantly changing.

On the other hand, Fargion (2012) borrows the concept of sustainability from development economics and deploys it in the field of archiving. She uses this term to show that there is need to manage archival recordings in such ways that they should serve the needs of present and future generations. Fargion also uses the term sustainability to underscore the fact that those involved in establishing and managing archives need to cater for worldviews of cultural heritage communities and institutions in which they are housed. She goes further to argue that achieving sustainability in archiving music and dance entails working to ensure that musical materials do not serve the needs of only one party since there are certainly several individuals and organisations that engage in the creation, preservation, management and use of cultural objects such as music and dance. As Fargion (2012:15) postulates, achieving sustainability in archiving needs the building of a "symbiosis" of networks or what Cox regards as "alliances" (2001:394) between various stakeholders.[277]

Although the insights of Thram (2014:319) and other scholars on creating sustainable archives inform this study, my views on the use of the concept of sustainability are influenced by Fargion's (2012) idea of working to meet the needs of different stakeholders by involving them in the activities of the archive. While archivists are professionals in their own right, there are other stakeholders who need to be brought on board to facilitate the process of building sustainable archives. In my study, I have identified six players along what I would call the 'archival continuum', which is a process of collecting, documenting, cataloguing,

[276]Some archives have even tended to conduct their activities near music studios as a way of creating both backward and forward linkages between themselves and other organisations. In this way, the studio may draw on archival materials as inputs for its activities and in turn pay archives money to also sustain their work. Thram (2014; 2015) discusses the 'ILAM Music Heritage Project' and demonstrates how the archive has been able to solicit for financial support to use archival materials for publication of text books for use in both primary and secondary schools. This project has also enabled ILAM to publish CDs of Hugh Tracey's recordings for sale to raise money for the activities of the archive.

[277] See also Fargion & Landau (2012:125).

preserving and disseminating music, dance and other forms of oral heritage among the Bagisu. These include: 1) fieldworkers or music collectors such as those that may be commissioned by archives belonging to universities; 2) custodians of community events such as ritual performances; 3) community and cultural leaders; 4) the business community including those engaged in commodifying circumcision music and dance through music kiosks in Mbale Town; 5) government officials such as those working with Uganda Tourism Board (UTB) or Local Government (LG); and 6) ordinary members of the community not forgetting the so-called low rank members of society. Working together under the umbrella of the more-inclusive postcolonial archive, each of these stakeholders plays a role that resonates with his/her abilities as discussed later in this chapter.

Literally, to establish archives as institutions or as material to be consumed in future, it would be important to recommend to people engaged in such a project to think about a place where to house archives. However, my interaction with some Bagisu in Bududa District and Mbale Town revealed that finding space to house archives should not be the most essential question. Archives can be started from a simple house and later migrated to a 'proper' space. Re-echoing this viewpoint, Chaudhuri (2004:144) has noted that

> Archives [usually have] their beginning not in custom-built facilities with vaults designed for tape storage but in spaces designed for homes and classrooms. This has something to do with the fact that few archives are planned as archives. They are often tape collections in research organisations [and] teaching institutions […] Even those who plan archives from the start have to find funds for all their activities – for research and documentation, for cataloguing and dissemination activities […] and creating appropriate archival facilities puts an enormous strain on budgets that are already stretched. Thus, many institutions have their beginnings in rented premises and have to make do with an existing space.

Based on this observation, the present study reveals that the fundamental questions that stakeholders need to underscore while archiving music and dance of a specific community should be: 1) understanding the nature of materials to be collected for archives; 2) ensuring that these materials are available and accessed by those who may need them in future; and 3) mitigating copyright and ethical issues surrounding archival items. Each of these issues is discussed under a separate subsection below.

6.3.1 Nature of Material to be Collected

At the beginning of this dissertation, I talked about how the nature of materials collected by archival centres need to resonate with the value the community attaches to such items. The most crucial questions that archivists, music collectors, fieldworkers, curators and all those involved in managing cultural resources of any community should be: 1) what is the value of such materials to the community where they are found? 2) If community members were given recording gadgets and asked to record items like music, which ones would they choose and why (Seeger, 2004:98)? 3) Why would they discard certain materials? By answering such questions, people involved in an archival project will understand that what they are doing is on behalf of the community. The community owns the material and despite other people including scholars and students from other cultures or organisations drawing on these objects, the items make meaning to the people who create and own them. For that matter, those working with archival institutions need to liaise with musicians, dancers, community members, cultural leaders and custodians of various rituals in order to understand the nature of items to be collected for archiving. Each of these stakeholders has a specific role to play in the process of identifying and collecting the 'right' items.

While working with MAKWAA in 2010, I had the opportunity to meet the custodians of *shikongo*, a ritual dance performed to cleanse barren women among the Bagisu. As I was told, the people in Bududa District stopped performing this ritual dance in early 1990s. Besides the prevalence of HIV/AIDS being used as an argument against ritual practices that involved sex, *shikongo* ritual dance suffered unprecedented condemnation from the church during this period. The church portrayed this ritual dance as ungodly, satanic and something that goes against biblical teachings. In March 2010, when I met the men who used to take custodianship of this ritual, I convinced them to organise a pseudo performance so that I could record them for the archive. The two men – one in charge of the *shikongo* ritual drum and the other responsible for the gourd shakers (*tsisaasi*) – accepted and performed the music for me. The community members gathered and those who had performed this dance earlier improvised the costumes and began dancing.[278]

[278] The people performing *shikongo* dance put on skins of animals, especially bulls and he-goats. Others tie pieces of cloth, passing them under one's right arm-pits and tying them over the right shoulder. Men carry sticks (and others, spears) for defense as sometimes fighting can erupt towards the climax of the dance. Discussions on *shikongo* ritual dance are beyond the scope of this study.

After that performance, one of the elders from Bumukonya (the place I later went for the funeral dance in October 2013) told me about a cave in *Ishikyimba*, the place where the Bamukonya (people from Bumukonya) perform rituals associated with rain-making.[279] He offered to be my contact person, to inform me whenever such ceremonies would be staged so that I also go and make recordings. While attending the funeral dance in the same village, I asked people about that cave and what happens there. Despite their views on how rain-makers could sometimes go there to offer sacrifices to the snake cult correlating with what I had earlier been told, many of them did not like the idea of going there and recording material associated with rain-making. "You want to be possessed?" one woman asked me. Together with other mourners, she argued that "no one" would be interested in watching such activities since they are about worshipping Satan. Several people looked at themselves as Christians who may be affected by the performances from such 'profane' contexts. This incidence reminded me of our experience during the repatriation project by MAKWAA in Bududa District in August 2010. Together with Nannyonga-Tamusuza, Andrew Weintraub and other members on our research team, we played the song '*Wele Anzoneka*' (God destroyed me), as was recorded by Wachsmann, to a group of people in Bunanzushi Lower Village, Bunanzushi Parish in the Sub-County of Bulucheke. Most community members who had come to listen to the songs we played did not like the song *Wele Anzoneka* because it was performed during contexts of worshipping indigenous gods. As also pointed out by Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012:212), the playing of this song went against people's Christian values.

[279] In Bududa District, myths about rain-making and their association with Bamukonya are as pervasive as ever. When I went to attend the funeral-ritual dance discussed in Chapter Four, I was told that everyone born in this community is 'born' with a snake. Although this reptile is believed to be out in the bush, it symbolises one's sister or brother. One of the narratives Silagi Wandeba, a man whose father had been in charge of the groove where rain-makers acquire their power, gave me was that, this snake can choose to visit his or her "brother"/"sister" in his/her home, especially when a baby is born in such a home. During situations when the snake 'visits', especially when there is a baby, the belief is that it sits and takes 'care' of the child in question. When the baby's mother finds it, she gets the milk meant for the baby, pours some of it on the ground and utters words to the effect that 'you have kept this baby for some time, it is now my turn to look after it' and the snake gives her the 'chance' to look after the baby. During circumcision rituals, one's snake can come to "dance" the ritual with him. Wandeba told me that he saw 'his' snake in August 1992 during the time he was performing *imbalu* rituals. He said that after the leader in charge of his lineage saw it, he got powdered yeast and poured it on the snake's head, saying '*kha umwana enjile imbalu ni tsingabi tso*' – 'let the boy undergo *imbalu* with your blessings.' When a person becomes sick, his/her snake also falls sick and eventually dies upon the death of the person connected to it. Then, it must be accorded a 'decent' burial to avoid rain falling unceasingly. To bury such a snake, an elder has to go to a stream in *Ishikyimba*, removes and takes it away for burial. If this does not happen, the belief is that fellow snakes come and 'take' it for burial thus causing rain to fall for several days, weeks or even months without stopping. The incessant rains are interpreted as a sign of 'revenge' on the part of the dead snake, not only on the Bamukonya, but also on people from the neighbouring communities. Wandeba also told me that the death and burial of every Mumukonya (singular of Bamugonya) must be accompanied by rain as confirmation that s/he belongs to that community. However, this type of rain falls only during burial and does not go on for a long period of time.

Based on the above two scenarios, it becomes apparent that archivists need to be careful with the nature of materials they may want to record. As scholars including Evans (2007:389) observe, it is imperative for archivists to set priorities and emphasise the collection of items that impact positively on the people who may need them in future. More so, they need to understand the change in need of such material in the present and the future so as to address this challenge. Furthermore, despite musicians consenting before they are recorded, archivists need to take the latter's viewpoints seriously in choosing whatever should be collected. During the funeral ritual dance in Bumukonya, whenever I asked questions about this dance, mourners would refer me to elders like Wabuna. The idea of referring me to elders shows that such people are knowledgeable about what goes on in society and can be in a better position to 'guide' archivists where they can acquire the 'right' items that the community may need in future.

Seeger (1996) points out that sometimes, community members make recordings of their musics and dances to be safeguarded for future use. He was referring to the Suya of Brazil with whom he had worked during his research activities of Mid-1980s. He reports about the community-initiated projects where members recorded their musics to create cassette tapes for raising money for community projects. As Seeger has noted, engaging with people who make such recordings does not only enable archivists and fieldworkers 'access' performances that take place in the latter's absence, but also helps in understanding how community members select what to record. Indeed, during my interaction with Kisibo, as I have pointed out in Chapter Four, I learnt that music collectors can benefit a lot if they liaise with collectors from the communities. Most of the *imbalu* performances Kisibo records are those musics and dances that are staged on the eve of circumcision, at night.[280] For a music collector interested in capturing the whole process of *imbalu* rituals, working with interested collectors from the community culminates into collecting materials that s/he could have missed since they may be staged during a time which may not be 'convenient' to him/her.[281]

[280] On the eve of circumcision, *imbalu* candidates are taken to the home of the leader of their lineage (sometimes, some parents may decide to keep their children in their respective homes) to perform music and dances. Ranging from *shishiwoyo* (plural, *bibiwoyo*) (coaxing songs), *kadodi* dance to the singing by the candidate himself (*khukhubulula*), musics and dances performed during this time are meant to empower the candidate. Through song, the boy is kept busy, to make his mind concentrate on nothing but *imbalu* alone. Most people I interacted with told me that if candidates are not kept busy on the eve of circumcision, their minds may think about other issues, including hatching plans to escape and run away from the ritual.

[281] Some community members in Bududa District brought to me some of the recordings they had made during *inemba*, a circumcision ritual dance performed to mark the climax of *imbalu* rituals among the Bagisu. Although their intention was to get money out of these recordings (actually proposing that they sell the

What music collectors can do is to train these community members on how to use such recording gadgets like tape recorders, still and video cameras so that they do not end up with 'poor' quality recordings. Kisibo emphasised this point when he told me that

> *Imbuka indela, imbaama ni bikhupa bifaani ni byibyuma byeesi nyala naambisiila ta. Angaba ni khaambisa kamakono khase, inyalama namanya khukharambisa nio nafuuna byeesi imambisa bilayi ta. Ne waama bibyuma byoowo lundi wasomisa khubirambisa, inyala naambisa binu bikali lundi nakhubikhila byoosi. Inga iwe uwama ibulafu, unyalaama wamanya byeesi beemba bilayi ta, bibinyala byareela tsingano tsindayi khu mbalu ta.*
>
> Sometimes, I do not have cameras and recorders which I can use to make recordings. Even with my small recorder, I may not know how to use it in order to make 'good' recordings. But if you give me your machines and teach me how to use them, I can record many things and keep 'everything' for you. As someone from 'outside', you may not understand 'good' performances, those that can tell a 'good' story about circumcision (interview, 22nd October, 2013).

The above statement by Kisibo offers important insights into the role of private collectors in ensuring that archivists and music collectors acquire material which may represent the needs of several stakeholders. However, despite the significance of these observations, there is also need to be aware of the fact that such collaborations have a financial implication on archival institutions like MAKWAA. Indeed, while archivists may want to work with local collectors, how do they acquire financial resources? This is one of the questions those engaged in collaborative archiving need to always ponder about.

Another category of stakeholders to consider in this effort are the musicians and dancers. As creators of music and 'designers' of dances, musicians and dancers usually work in collaboration with colleagues who compose and sing about similar or related topics. Some of these artists or the nature of music they compose and perform may not be known to the music collector. However, as scholars including Biernacki & Waldorf (1981) have noted in relation to snowball sampling technique, by liaising with old contacts, one may be able to access those unknown artists and collect the music they perform. When I made collections for MAKWAA in Bududa District in 2010, I did not know Mzee Masatte from Bubukasha, a village in the Sub county of Bumayoka as a 'retired' musician. To me, he was just one of the ordinary members of the community selling *busera*, local brew. Conversely, as I learnt later,

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recordings to me for my research), working with such groups may culminate into the collection of rich materials about a community's musical and dance heritage.

this old man was a musician who used to sing war songs in his community. As someone who wanted to record 'old' songs, Wabutambi told me about Masatte and the nature of music he performs. It was after meeting Masette that I later realised that without the involvement of Wabutambi, I could not have met this musician and recorded his music, whose performance context had changed from war to beer-making contexts.[282]This scenario also demonstrates the role musicians can play in enhancing the collection of musical material covering diverse settings which leads to creation of archives with items whose collection is not only the effort of one party, but also a combination of efforts.

Further still, this dissertation has demonstrated that cultural sites, which are places where specific *imbalu* rituals and other social events are performed, are significant spaces among the Bagisu. As I have already discussed, by acting as platforms where society performs rituals like *imbalu*, cultural sites bring together people of related lineages to articulate their histories and social hierarchies. They also act as areas where the community showcases different artefacts besides providing a site for *imbalu* candidates and *banamyenya* (the people who lead them in song) to interact and perform music and dances. To this end, preserving these spaces becomes an implicit means of archiving the artefacts, rituals as well as the musics and dances performed there. As such, it is important for people involved in an archival project to consider these areas as resources that can be safeguarded for future generations. This study has revealed that in spite of some Bagisu (especially those who acquired western education and have subscribed to Christianity or Islam) not valuing the rituals (including the musics and dances) staged in these areas, numerous Bagisu in Bududa pointed to the importance of such materials and the need to preserve them.

At community level, there are efforts towards safeguarding these spaces and the activities performed there. On December 14, 2013, an informal stakeholders' meeting was convened at Mbale Resort Hotel by David Tsolobi, the then Bududa District Community Development Officer. The meeting aimed at discussing ways of turning the different cultural sites in Bududa District into centres of tourism. This meeting brought on board representatives from the NGO Forum and local government, the latter comprising of people from the departments of commerce and community development. Tsolobi invited me to this

[282] Of course, music collectors need to be aware of the expectations of musicians in the communities from which they seek to make recordings. Some musicians think that by making recordings of their songs, you are going to publicise them to the 'world out there'. As such, they tend to come up with many demands including the need to broadcast their music on radio or TV stations. It is important for music collectors to explain to musicians, community members and their leaders what they can do and what cannot be done.

meeting because he wanted me to make a presentation on how to safeguard these places with a view of harnessing opportunities like tourism for both current and future generations. Although the meeting enlisted the nature of touristic activities suiting each of the different cultural sites in Bududa,[283] members first discussed challenges they were likely to confront and how such challenges could hamper tourism. Besides funding inadequacies, one outstanding issue related to land.

That cultural sites are spaces where public events are performed does not imply that the land on which they are located belongs to the community. Apart from NCS, which stretches as far as the playground of Bulucheke Secondary School,[284] most cultural sites are situated on private land. This scenario suggests that owners of the land cultivate it and plant crops for their day-today survival. Moreover, some people have constructed both residential and commercial buildings in these areas. During fieldwork, it became clear to me that in situations where owners of land in these spaces had not constructed houses, rituals and other public events are only staged there after 'owners' have harvested their crops. More so, it is usually those community members who have not converted into Christianity or Islam, those who could be regarded as symphasisers of the traditional lifestyle, who have hesitated from settling in these areas. Christians and Muslims (and people who have acquired western education) have begun constructing residential houses in areas housing cultural sites. It is also uncommon to find these people allowing 'heathen' practices to be performed near their homes. Under such circumstances, how can different stakeholders (the government, cultural leaders, community members, archivists and the so-called 'silent' voices) collaborate to ensure that these spaces are safeguarded?

What the government (through the Ministries of Local Government as well as Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities) needs to do is to gazette these places as special areas that can contribute to national development. In other words, by creating an inventory of activities like *imbalu* rituals and other oral performances that can be showcased to the public, the government can present cultural sites as spaces which should be safeguarded to earn Uganda revenue. To smoothen this process, the government needs to compensate land owners in these areas by paying them cash to acquire land elsewhere. Moreover, while relocating communities to other places may present other challenges like corruption, the government

[283] There are several cultural sites in Bugisu (and Bududa District in particular) and are located between confluences of rivers, near waterfalls, around rocks, in trading centres and playgrounds of public schools.
[284] Bulucheke Secondary School is a government-aided secondary school located in Bulucheke Sub County, Bududa District.

may also think of a compensation package that involves resettlement of the affected people to other areas. Direct involvement of the government in the management of cultural sites may also enhance the regulation of the rituals and other activities that take place in these spaces. From provision of security during the performance of rituals like *imbalu* to development of infrastructure (including roads), government involvement in the day-today activities staged in cultural sites like Namasho may become beneficial not only the local communities found in these areas, but also the entire Ugandan state.

In addition, cultural leaders can play a significant role in mobilising community members to respect these areas and desist from encroaching on them. In dispensing their duties, cultural leaders can work with archivists attached to institutions like MAKWAA. Although community members may understand what needs to be archived in their respective areas, they may not be informed about the best archival practices that may lead to sustainable preservation of such items. In this case, when archivists come up and sensitise community members on how best they can safeguard cultural sites in their community, they will not only project themselves as cultural brokers (in this case, supporting community members understand the value of cultural objects in the places they live), but also ensure the sustainability of certain musics and dances in the communities they work.

The government, cultural and community leaders as well as elders occupy a dominant position in society. Their ideas in relation to the archiving of these cultural sites and by extension the musical materials enacted there are largely influenced by this position. In spite of this, the so-called low rank members of society need to be engaged to supplement information offered by the former group. The uncircumcised, un married and people without homes of their own, who form what I have regarded as ‘silent’ voices, can provide more details on what happens in cultural sites to warrant the preservation of these spaces. During fieldwork, I organised a FGD at NCS during which I asked elders whether it was necessary to safeguard the thicket where the sacred swamp is housed or not. Although the community preserves this thicket in an attempt to protect the swamp where boys are smeared with mud before proceeding for circumcision, I was told that after visiting their mothers’ relatives, most *imbalu* candidates just head for pen-surgery. They ‘no longer’ go to the sacred swamp for smearing rituals. If this is the case, I was curious to understand why the community should ‘waste’ land in form of keeping a sacred swamp that is no ‘longer’ important. Zabuloni Wanyenya (not real names), a 50-year old man who was known in his village for ‘refusing’ to get married, interjected and pointed out that the thicket was still very ‘useful’. He asserted

that during the previous year of *imbalu*, he had counted over 60 candidates entering the push to be smeared with mud (*litosi*). Despite Wanyenya's remarks attracting laughter from some of the elders[285], it demonstrated to me that in spite of certain cultural objects appearing useless to specific sections of society, they make a lot of sense to others. As such, archivists do not need to discard comments by people of Wanyenya's calibre since such observations can be collected and analysed to justify the value of places like Namasho to the community.

The preparation and making contacts with communities where one intends to make collections is usually the first step towards archiving musical and dance items of a community. Despite this, ensuring that what is collected is accessed by end-users is an important step in the process of creating of an archive. Discussions on how different stakeholders should collaborate to ensure accessibility of archival material are what I turn to in the next sub-section.

6.3.2 Ensuring Accessibility

Scholarship on archiving has pointed to accessibility of material as one of the salient features that should define an archive.[286] The literal meaning that is evoked while talking about making archives accessible is the act of opening their doors to allow members of the public access the archives under their custody. Contemporary scholarship on archiving demonstrates that making archives accessible also involves taking material outside the confines of the archival institution back into communities where they were collected. This archival practice has been credited by scholars including Ruskin (2006), Vallier (2010), Lobley (2012), Kahunde (2012) as well as Nannyonga-Tamusuza & Weintraub (2012) for its numerous advantages including: 1) acting as a platform for gathering views from community members about items housed in an archive; 2) breaking institutional barriers to allow those community members who may not find it easy to access institutions like universities because they do not have identity cards also access archival items; and 3) being a means of helping communities revive lost traditions besides enabling them have an opportunity to listen to the voices of their dead relatives whose musics and dances may be housed in the archive.

[285] People thought he was crazy to claim that he had counted the *imbalu* candidates as they entered the thicket.
[286] See for example Gabrielle & David (1990); Hedstrom (1997); Heslop, Davis & Wilson (2002); Swain (2003); Cunningham & Margaret (2005); Krause & Yakel, (2007); Higgins (2011) for more discussions on accessibility of archival material.

In addition to opening doors to the public and the practice of taking archival items back to communities is what Evans (2007:387) calls "commons-based peer production." According to Evans (ibid.), archivists need to "organise archival work in concert with a curious and interested public." Besides ensuring the collection of items that serve the needs of the community, this archival practice calls for creation of a platform through which archives advertise their material so that potential users can know about them. To do this, Evans advocates for creation of group emailing lists, websites, a platform for telephone conversations and any other forum intended to showcase and share ideas about the items available in the archive. As Evans has noted, archiving material through this mode culminates into tracking how people use collections to understand consumers' demands. In other words, this archival practice gives archivists an understanding of the nature of items users need so as to establish ways of collecting 'right' items.

Another view about accessibility relates to the nature of documentation one accords the material to be housed in archival institutions. Which information do you include and which one do you leave out? What is the role of different stakeholders in documenting archival items in order to make them accessible to future users? In his articles, Seeger (1986; 1996) implores people involved in collecting material for archives to always think about the various ways end users may put the item to use as a basis of determining the nature of documentation to provide to the item. More so, discussing the nature of written documentation that accompanies Klaus Wachsmann's music collections in Uganda, Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2015) argues that since audio-visual materials do not have meaning on their own, meaning is created through the documentation different members of what she calls the 'archival community' provide. Summarising the role of each of the members of this community, she writes that the, "meaning-creation process [of audio-visual materials] begins in the field when the collector makes audio-visual documentation and gathers and transcribes interpretations of these audio-visual materials from informants and performers. This process continues when archivists receive the collection in their repository and when the archive's end-users consume, make use of, and interpret the collection" (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2015:24). Moreover, although his/her role may not be significant when materials are deposited in the archive, Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2015) also underscores the crucial role of collection custodians, the people who take charge of the material after the initial collector has

died. She argues that such a person participates in documenting "residual materials".[287] Nannyonga-Tamusuza emphasises that collection custodians play a significant role during the time of repatriating archival items to communities of origin, to make them understandable by community members where the material was collected since the collector may have died. Collection custodians may be in possession of additional field notes which were not deposited with the archive by the collector.

These views are significant as they enhance an understanding of the nature of documentation items for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive needs to have and the role of each of the stakeholders in creating that documentation. Like Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2015:27) has further suggested, there is need for a "systematic, dynamic and dialogic documentation" in order to provide accessibility for material to people who may need it. Moreover, these different people need to create what should stand as 'documentation for accessibility', which I regard as an effort to describe archival items with a view to making them understandable. In this sub-section, I share my field experiences to demonstrate how music collectors, archivists, musicians, dancers, community members, their leaders and even the so-called 'silent' voices can play a significant role in the process of documenting archival items with a view to making them accessible.

My experience during fieldwork has shown that the primary responsibility of providing 'documentation for accessibility' lies in the hands of music collectors. Among other roles, music collectors should ensure that they provide details on the context of performance, listing names of performers and the role each of them has played in the music event. Moreover, this responsibility can be fulfilled through making transcriptions of songs – to provide notations and text of the music. They also need to write down details on costumes, props and any other information that may make these materials understood by the end-users. Despite working to perform these roles, however, music collectors are usually faced with two challenges. First, they are bound by the obligation to create collections that their institutions are "able to live with" – to borrow a leaf from Bearman's (2002: 324) insights. Bearsman demonstrates that primarily, collectors (and archivists) ensure that the records they create match with the institutional policies on acquisition and documentation, to enable the

[287] What is known as residual collections, which are the materials that remain behind after collectors have deposited whatever item the archive may deem necessary, are normally kept by what Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2015:24) has called collection custodians. Collection custodians are usually the children, relatives or friends of the collector with whom s/he entrusts the materials.

institution for which archives are part realise its mission and vision. Making his reference to how states relied on archives to consolidate their power, Bearman (2002:324) writes that "The state is largely indifferent to any social or moral imperative than itself". This obligation may limit music collectors in their ability to consider the needs of other people, particularly local communities despite the latter being the creators of the material being collected.

In addition to grappling with the question of working to fulfil the needs of their institutions, the biggest challenge music collectors encounter relates to the fact that they may not originate from the communities where the material is collected. Needless to say, collectors transcend their 'home' boundaries to go and make music and dance recordings from other places. Because of working to make recordings from other communities, collectors are confronted with new languages and cultural practices which they may not comprehend. More so, community members are usually suspicious when they meet strangers.[288] The case of Wachsmann can be used to illustrate this point. Wachsmann was unable to speak local languages and this led to his inability to understand the attitude of the people in some of the communities he made recordings. Wachsmann was regarded as a *muzungu* (white person),[289] someone who had gone to such communities to collect musical materials for his own benefit. Comments like 'Just sing for him, do you think he will understand', 'please do it [sing] quickly, the white man's machine [recorder] is 'seeing' us' or 'let's just sing so that he gives us money' raise a lot of questions about the nature of documentation people accorded him. Such sentiments had (and still continue to have) grave implications on materials documented for archives.

Indeed, even indigenous collectors need to be careful whenever they document items to be archived. In spite of belonging to, and understanding the culture and language of the community in question, it is necessary for the indigenous collectors to bear in mind that there are deeply-rooted meanings behind the music and dance genres they intend to collect. As such, both outsiders and collectors who belong to the community where music and dance is made and performed need to engage elders and community members in their effort to document musical material in order to make it accessible to future users. Through the

[288] See also Geertz (2005) in his study of the Balinese cockfight to understand how community members may sometimes seem disinterested in the presence of fieldworkers in the formers' areas.

[289] Although the term *muzungu* generally denotes a white person, this word is also used to imply that white people are rich and therefore can give out money. It is a connotation that also applies to black people such as students who go to pursue further studies abroad, especially Europe and America. Whenever such students return to their home places, they are looked at as people who, through their interaction with the *bazungu* (plural for *muzungu*), have amassed a lot of money.

development of rapport with these people, a lot of information that enriches the items collected can be voluntarily given to the collectors. When I interacted with elders during the performance of the funeral dance discussed in Chapter Four, my aim was to describe the dance the way it was performed. In other words, what I saw was what I wanted to describe. Wabuna was my main source of information although his views were also supplemented by other elders. He shared information about the symbolism of the ritual of visiting one's paternal relatives upon the death of the husband, we talked about costumes used during the performance of a funeral dance and what they symbolized. He also explained to me the meaning embedded in the rhythms played on both the medium and big drums as well as the dance motifs for both male and female dancers.

However, some members of the audience insisted that one cannot 'talk' about a funeral ritual dance without mentioning other related rituals including *khunyinyaka*, *khububusa*, *khukhala kumusiro* and *likoshe* as I have discussed in Chapter Four. Some of the people who insisted that I need to include these ceremonies in the description of the funeral ritual dance were the so-called 'silent' voices.While listening to Wabuna and other elders, Khasani Musani (not real names) aged about 60 years interjected and reasoned that that Wabuna and group were only giving me incomplete information. Although a number of elders advised me to avoid a man whose 'legacy' in the world is merely sleeping in other people's homes because he did not have a home of his own, I found Musani's views, captured below, very interesting:

> *Iwe ulikho uwulila bye Wabuna ni bashweewe? Bari khukhuwa bibinu busintzasintza. Ingoma yo mufu ilikho bibinu bikali busa. Boona, khububusa isi baleela ingokho. Khunyinyaka isi baremaka jimisakusa. Ate khukhala kumusiro ni khukhusinga likoshe? Aba imaawo byeesi bari khukhubolela ta. Bisintzasintza busa.*
>
> You are listening to Wabuna and his friends. They are giving you only incomplete information. The funeral ritual dance has so many other things [meaning: other related rituals]. See *khububusa* where they bring chicken. *Khunyinyaka* where they cut down banana stems. [What about] *khukhala kumusiro* [cutting the ritual by the widow or widower who wants to remarry] and washing off the ash? These ones are not telling you anything. Just giving you information in bits.

After hearing about these other related rituals, I organized follow-up questions about the funeral dance and the nature of materials transmitted through its performance in order to

get more details about it. As these cases illustrate, communities have their own indigenous ways of conceptualizing certain phenomena, which demand the help of community members to understand them. Furthermore, by volunteering information on the other rituals that form the entire process of funeral performances among the Bagisu, these community members were indirectly demonstrating that I should document this ritual dance with as many details as possible in order to serve the aspirations of future users.

Apart from avoiding wrong spellings of the music and dance genres for archives, involving elders and other community members enhances avoidance of what Okpewho (1992:14) would call "flat and tasteless" translations. While it becomes impossible to determine what is flat and tasteless, the evocation of these concepts emanates from Okpewho's discussions on how Africans trained in western countries did not capture enough information about African languages when they translated them into English, French and other European languages. The failure to pay attention to details led to misinterpretation of people's cultures, a practice that reinforced stereotypes about Africans and their cultural practices. These views demonstrate that music archivists and fieldworkers need to work with musicians, dancers and other stakeholders to gather as much detail about the musical events as possible, details that enhance the understanding and accessibility of archival items. Besides working together to collect 'right' items for archival purposes and ensuring that they are accessible, one cannot under look questions surrounding copyright and ethics in the creation of a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for music and dance among the Bagisu as discussions in the following subsection illuminate.

6.3.3 Mitigation of Copyright and Ethical Issues

Copyright is among the challenges that people who use cultural items like music and dance face during the twenty-first century. Although music kiosks in Mbale Town do not give back royalties to those who create and perform music, when people commodify music and dance, they need to appropriate certain amounts of money to those who 'produce' and 'own' the commodified music and dance. However, in her online article about the complexities of ownership of cultural objects in contexts of using them to make money, Torkornoo (2012:1) notes that traditional cultural expressions are always "identifiable [with] indigenous communities […] They evolve from communal cultural interactions, and are not

attributable to any individual authorship".[290] Based on these views, the following questions come to the fore. Who has the right to ownership over a song that has been transmitted orally over generations? Is it the musician, dancer or the community as a whole? Who has the right to talk on behalf of the community when it comes to mitigating issues of copyright? These are some of the questions that make issues of copyright mitigation complicated. And yet, they need to be addressed if we are to make the archiving of these items sustainable.

According to Seeger (1996:87), archivists are in better positions to champion the mitigation of copyright issues on behalf of community members. As Seeger argues, archivists, especially those with a background in ethnomusicology, acquire training on music in relation to copyright, something that makes it easier for them to educate communities about their rights and even help them negotiate better deals for their music and dance.[291] Similarly, in an article where he addresses the relationship between the ethnomusicologist and the record business, Zemp (1996: 36-38) shows that there are numerous categories of people involved in the creation of music and dance, whose role must be recognized by scholars (and archivists) as they deal with copyright issues. Such people usually include musicians, dancers, community and cultural leaders, fieldworkers (music collectors), record companies or producers and other numerous stakeholders who may either directly or indirectly be involved in the creation and management of musical and dance materials of a community. One needs to understand how much money should be apportioned to each of these categories of people.

To establish a more-inclusive postcolonial archive for musical and dance materials, I argue for concerted efforts by different stakeholders to mitigate copyright issues. In particular, fieldworkers have a cardinal role to play. Despite maintaining my identity as a scholar during fieldwork, I sometimes took on the identity of a cultural broker. By cultural broker, I refer to a person who mediates between two individuals or groups of people involved in making use of the same cultural object for their day to-day survival. In relation to ethnomusicological fieldwork, scholars have tended to use their fieldwork excursions as platforms to mediate between community members and those who may use the latter's musical materials for financial gains. The notion of cultural broker is also used in contexts

[290] Rahmatian (2010:139) also re-echoes the same view about ownership of items such as music and dance.
[291] Seeger (1996) also urges institutions training ethnomusicologists and archivists which do not have courses on copyright and ethics to include them on their curriculum as a way of equipping scholars with knowledge on these issues. Such training helps people to understand how to relate with the musical materials of communities in which they work.

where archivists may help community members repatriate items for use by the latter especially in situations involving court cases or attempts to revive a particular music tradition.[292] Mitigating copyright issues formed part of my fieldwork activities. Whenever I went to Magomba's music kiosk in Mbale Town, I would find circumcision initiates crowding there to buy DVDs of the events that were performed as *imbalu* inauguration rituals at BCG. Since Magomba was processing the music and dances he had collected from BCG, I encouraged him to sell the DVDs to former *imbalu* candidates at a discount. I also helped these candidates to make duplicate copies of the DVDs they had bought from Magomba since they approached me for this service.

Although it may not be possible for those operating music kiosks to apportion money to such *imbalu* candidates, the idea of giving back music to those who create it at a discount or helping them duplicate copies of these materials to be disseminated to their friends inculcates a sense of ownership by those who engage in creating and performing this music and dance. This practice brings about harmony between those who sell the music on the one hand and the owners of the music on the other hand. Of course one cannot guarantee the sustainability of services like supplying music on discount or helping musicians have copies of their music from record companies. I feel continous sensitisation can make proprietors of music businesses give back these items to musicians at reasonable prices.

Related to copyright are ethical issues. Agawu (2003:205), in his discussions on ethics of representation, stresses that scholars need to look at "ethics as discourse." This view underscores the fact that there are no clearly differentiated and distinctively moral vocabularies that define ethics since what may be considered unethical in one discipline or context may be ethical in another. In spite of such ambiquities, a community's music and dance brings about a lot of ethical issues that people need to understand. For instance, is it ethical to go to a community and only deal with musicians and dancers without the knowledge of community and cultural leaders? When you make recordings of the music and dance during fieldwork and later publish it with a record company, are you 'ethically' bound to bring back some of the proceeds to the community where you made the recordings or to the individual musicians? How does one deal with people s/he records and uses their photos

[292] See for example Seeger (2006); Bohlman (1997); Waterman (1990a); Hagerdorn (1988); and Neuenfeldt (2001) who evoke the notion of cultural broker to underscore the value of cultural objects to communities and how scholars need to go about these issues as they conduct their studies. Impey (2002) also discusses how cultural advocacy is an integral part of what she calls "participatory action research in ethnomusicology" where scholars collaborate with communities to promote the latter's music traditions.

on a CD album? These are some of the questions that bring to the fore ethical issues when engaging with the music and dance of a particular community.

Several scholars have shared experiences of their research to highlight the ethical issues they confronted and how they addressed them. Their views are pertinent in informing discussions in this study. Zemp's (1996) research covered three countries – Ivory Coast, Solomon Islands (South Pacific) and Switzerland. During his first study in the Solomon Islands, Zemp made recordings, which he later published with a record company. Some of the proceeds from these recordings were later returned to the community where he had worked. As he puts it, through the money he got after publishing LPs of the Are'are people in Solomon Islands, he bought recording equipment which he brought back to the community.[293] However, information had gone around that he had made a lot of profit from the music he had collected. It was until Zemp sought the arbitration of other leaders that the paramount chief allowed him to continue with fieldwork.

The above view implores ethnomusicologists to think about the musical materials collected from the field as resources that may attract a financial value in future. In this way, they need to anticipate the way they can share such proceeds with others. According to Zemp (1996:41), it is ethical for ethnomusicologists and archivists to make written agreements with musicians and elders on how to share proceeds from musical recordings made during fieldwork. One also needs to understand that there are many stakeholders involved in the production and management of such cultural objects like music and dance. In the previous sections, I have mentioned that besides fieldworkers, there are community leaders, musicians, record companies and even archival institutions who are stakeholders in these cultural objects. As such, agreements on sharing financial returns need to stipulate the financial gains to be given to each of these people.

The fundamental question related to the archiving of musical materials, especially those related to ritual performances is how to understand ethical issues associated with such items. Seeger (2004:104) argues that contemporary ethical issues in music are also brought about by technology. To Seeger (2004:102), as we use technology to mediate music, dance and other oral items of a society, there is need to understand that musical materials are not

[293] It would have been good for community members to agree on the type of payment to get in return for their music. The idea of buying equipment for the community can also bring about a fundamental ethical question especially if the music collector does not train community members on how to use the equipment. Is it ethical for a music collector to give community members equipment they may not use in future?

mere objects but "sounds to which people attach individual significance that may stem from a specific personal context/or a more general social process." In the case of the Bagisu, it becomes crucial that those operating music kiosk businesses consult with community leaders on the impact of commodifying music and dances associated with these rituals for sale. Indeed, there are situations where songs and dances involving naked boys are uploaded on video-hosting sites like YouTube. In this regard, those involved in music kiosks need to ask the following questions. What happens if such boys see themselves on YouTube ten years after their initiation?[294] Do elders approve of this? As indicated earlier, attending certain aspects of the *imbalu* ritual requires the permission of custodians charged with this ritual and this should extend to people packaging such materials for economic benefits. All these issues call for mutual respect between fieldworkers (music collectors) and archivists as well as musicians, dancers, community and cultural leaders. Community and cultural leaders will play an advisory role to collectors while the latter consult the former from time to time to avoid confrontations in future.

6.4 Conclusion

As can be inferred from the above discussions, this Chapter has dealt with several issues. Besides presenting a recapitulation of the characteristic features of colonial and indigenous archival practices, I have also summarised the advantages and disadvantages of these archival approaches. The Chapter has also brought to the fore the concept of sustainability to highlight the need for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive as a site where different stakeholders can interact to preserve musical materials of a community. To create sustainable archives is to aim at establishing archives that serve the needs of the different stakeholders involved in an archival project.

Furthermore, the Chapter has demonstrated that on the one hand, archiving music and dance through performance of social events is a practice that is still carried out in rural Bugisu as the case of Bududa District has shown. On the other hand, despite the colonial archival practices having a number of challenges, archiving musical and dance materials of this community through the activities of custodians of various rituals and other social events

[294] My experience as a Mugisu man shows that some people look at *imbalu* rituals as 'backward' performances after they have been circumcised. Since boys are circumcised during adolescence, they grow and take on careers where they are supposed to consider such performances as ungodly. The example to illustrate this is a person who becomes a pastor. How does he feel after seeing himself naked or if his followers watch him on YouTube dancing and being circumcised?

is more susceptible to challenges than adopting the practice of recording and keeping these items in a centralised facility. As an example, the death of a musician or custodian of a ritual performance leads to the loss of all the valuable material s/he has accumulated over time. More so, the fact that many people are desisting from taking on roles related to rituals implies that some of the musical materials transmitted through such performances many not be available to future generations. Yet such material may be significant to the community.

The Chapter also concludes that in spite of archiving music and dance through preservation of Cultural Sites (CS) being significant, the issue of land ownership negatively affects this form of archiving. Because CSs are mostly located in private land, people use these places for cultivation and settlement. Therefore, there is need for collaboration of different government authorities to compensate owners of this land so that it can continue providing space for performing rituals including *imbalu*, which the GoU can harness for tourism.

My discussions in this Chapter have shown that the inception of a practice which encouraged what I have referred to as 'centralised archiving' – a tendency to collect, document, arrange and safeguard music and dance through a recognised building – is the most sustainable way of archiving music and dance among contemporary Bagisu. As I have pointed out, the idea of keeping musical and dance materials in centralised places was motivated by the invention of recording technology. Because this technology has pervaded many societies throughout the world, contemporary Bagisu cannot escape this development.

Although the Bagisu can adopt western technology to archive music and dance through making recordings, I have argued that they need to do this under the framework of a more-inclusive postcolonial archive. This type of archive provides a platform for people engaged with indigenous and colonial archival models to interact with one another as a way of creating archives that serve the needs of participants involved in the archival project. As the different stakeholders work to archive music and dance, they need to take into consideration the nature of material to be collected for archiving. They also need to ensure that the materials they collect are accessible to those who may need them. More so, stakeholders engaged in archiving need to understand that there are ethical and copyright issues that come to the fore and so need to be mitigated as they conduct their work.

Chapter Seven

Summary, Conclusions and Areas for Future Research

7.1 Summary

In this study, I examined the practices the Bagisu have used through history to archive music and dance. I drew on the rural villages of Bududa District and urban centres of Mbale Town to investigate how the Bagisu in these two cultural contexts conceptualise the archive, archivist and archiving. My aim was not only to understand the practices the Bagisu adopt to archive musical and dance materials, but also the principal stakeholders involved in archiving these artistic items in this community. This study was conducted against the backdrop that despite substantial work on reconceptualising the archive and archiving proliferating, there are still inadequate studies on the various approaches communities, such as the Bagisu, use to archive their music and dance. More so, there is less scholarly work on how the different stakeholders involved in archiving music and dance can collaborate to ensure 'sustainable' archiving of these materials in a given community.

By examining the archival practices for music and dance among the Bagisu, my ultimate goal was to propose a framework for archiving these materials among the Bagisu during the contemporary era. The framework proposed in this dissertation is a more-inclusive postcolonial archive. I have defined a more-inclusive postcolonial archive as a site where musicians, dancers, community members, cultural leaders, fieldworkers, music collectors, the business community, archivists and other people involved in archiving cultural objects of a society interact to address questions surrounding the nature of material to collect for archives. It is also through this kind of archive where different stakeholders can interact to address the issue of how end-users can access and make use of archival material as well as mitigate copyright and ethics, among the fundamental issues twenty-first century archives grapple with.

To investigate these issues, I first examined the nature and role of music and dance among the Bagisu – with special emphasis on Mbale Town and Bududa District. The purpose of this background information was to provide a general overview of music and dance as performed during a number of contexts – hunting, marriage, western and traditional worship

ceremonies. Besides, the Bagisu also have musics and dances which they integrate in *imbalu* circumcision rituals as well as those performed during burial ceremonies. In addition, there is popular music, especially as created and performed by Bagisu popular musicians particularly those based in Mbale Town. By understanding the nature and role music and dance play among the Bagisu, I justified why and how the different stakeholders have worked to preserve musical materials among the Bagisu since the precolonial period.

In Bududa District, I examined the two approaches to archiving music and dance namely, preservation of music and dance through social events as well as preserving these materials through the activities of local musicians. By social event, reference is made to communal activities staged with the intention of initiating boys into manhood, performing last funeral rites for particular members in society, twin birth, naming, marriage, rain-making and other ceremonies in society. I have also discussed how musicians, through activities of collecting material for their compositions, become objects for safeguarding and disseminating musical items. Besides archiving through social events and local musicians, I have also discussed the role of private collectors in archiving music and dance among the Bagisu. To understand how these archival practices have thrived in this community, I have investigated the socio-cultural, religious, economic, political and technological context of Bududa District. As a study that was motivated by understanding how the Bagisu in different cultural contexts archive music and dance, this study was also conducted in Mbale Town. In this town, I have discussed its socio-economic, political and technological influences and the nature of Kigisu music and dance collected, processed and circulated around Mbale Town. Like in Bududa District, I have discussed the role of the different people engaged in processes of archiving Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town.

Finally, I have identified the fundamental issues surrounding archiving music and dance among contemporary Bagisu and how several stakeholders can work together to mitigate them. More so, the study brings to the fore the need to mitigate these issues under the framework of a more-inclusive postcolonial archive. Specifically, the study demonstrates how the nature of material to be collected, the way it should be accessed as well as ethical and copyright issues, among other questions contemporary archives grapple with, can be mitigated. By enumerating the different stakeholders – fieldworkers (music collectors), archivists, musicians, dancers, community members and cultural leaders – I have proposed a framework for the more-inclusive postcolonial archive, which results from the interplay between the indigenous and colonial archival practices.

7.2 Conclusions

Based on the issues addressed in this study, the following conclusions can be made. Firstly, the role music and dance play among the Bagisu has motivated not only community members, but also other stakeholders to establish means of archiving it. Besides the practice by community members to archive music and dance through social events and activities of local musicians, efforts to archive Kigisu music and dance are explicitly manifested through the collections made by scholars like Wachsmann and institutions like MAKWAA. I have established that in spite of Kigisu musical and dance materials not being accessed by the Bagisu, Wachsmann's recordings include substantial amounts of musical and dance materials collected from this community. As such, the establishment of MAKWAA has provided one of the avenues for accessing and making use of Kigisu music and dance.

Furthermore, despite the permeability of western technology in Bugisu, like in other parts of the world, this study has established that social events are still among the avenues the Bagisu in Bududa District archive music and dance. Through the performance of ritual dances and other societal events, the community retrieves, assembles and showcases substantial amounts of music and dance materials to young generations. Although this approach to archiving is still significant in society, the socio-cultural, economic, religious and technological changes of the twenty-first century have drastically affected its viability. Many Bagisu have converted into Christianity and Islam in addition to embracing western education. Thus, they view rituals like *imbalu* and funeral dancing as primitive and backward. Some Bagisu are not willing to take on roles as custodians of ritual performances. Because custodians of social events may die before having successors in place, this study has established that it is important for different stakeholders to work towards making recordings of social events before they are completely abandoned by the Bagisu. Such recordings can be housed in institution-based archives including MAKWAA.

Besides embracing the social events as a site of archiving music and dance as was the case in Bududa District, this study has also demonstrated that music kiosk businesses are a space for collecting, processing, repackaging and disseminating Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. In spite of these music centres processing music from various parts of the world by duplicating CDs and DVDs and circulating them round Mbale Town, Kigisu music and dance from the countryside are the items that are mainly processed and disseminated. My

study has established that *imbalu* circumcision music and dance form the biggest portion of Kigisu musical and dance materials that are repackaged and transmitted in Mbale Town.

Furthermore, this study has revealed that the approaches the Bagisu embrace to archive music and dance are greatly influenced by the context of the people. While the Bagisu in Bududa District have embraced western technologies, religion and education, the area is not as urbanised as Mbale Town. Moreover, in Bududa, people still live in what I have regarded as lineage clusters, with members being able to trace their origin to a common ancestry living together as extended families. This type of life has enabled people to set aside communal places for performance of social events, which also act as sites for archiving the musics and dances associated with these events. Besides these sites, the archiving of music and dance is achieved through the activities of local musicians who create the music and also become objects for storing it. This archival practice is also influenced by the low level of technological development. On the contrary, Mbale Town is highly urbanised. People have abundant supply of electricity and are easily accessible to western technology, particularly computers and the internet. They have embraced these facilities to process music and dances from other parts of Bugisu into commodities which they circulate around town for sale. To this end, the archive of Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town, which mainly manifests itself in form of music kiosks, is a source of income. It is an institution through which the town dwellers acquire economic survival.

In this study, I also conclude that the archive of music and dance among the Bagisu is a fluid one. It manifests itself in different forms depending on the place and the prevailing conditions. The prevailing conditions in Bududa District are primarily responsible for performing this archive in form of social events and local musicians. As I have demonstrated, musicians go around the community composing music on topical issues thus becoming archives for safeguarding these materials. These musicians circulate the music to the public during political rallies, beer parties and other contexts. On the contrary, the lifestyle of the Bagisu in Mbale Town has influenced the use of music kiosks as archives. Moreover, the question of power dynamics is at the centre of the changing nature of the archive among the Bagisu. Because the Bagisu in Bududa District are aware of the power struggles in society (especially between different religious denominations), they are able to take advantage of these struggles to perform certain rituals which bring to the fore ‘hidden’ archives which had played a significant role in society. This was clearly shown through the events that culminated into the performance of the funeral ritual dance I have discussed in Chapter Four.

Likewise, aware of the authority of community leaders, the Bagisu in Mbale Town draw on western technology to subvert the formers' power and archive *imbalu* musics and dance through mechanical aids (CDs, DVDs and Memory sticks), to make these materials available to other users in other parts of the world. They also upload these materials on video-hosting sites including YouTube. These changing power dynamics demonstrate that this archive will change its form from time to time so long as the forces that determine its existence are in such struggles.

Furthermore, the study has also revealed that in performing the archive during the contemporary period, stakeholders need to draw on the challenges of their predecessors in order to conduct their work successfully. In other words, people involved in an archival project must use the failures of early collectors as a learning experience in the process of collecting, documenting, preserving and managing the cultural objects – including music and dance – of the community. Which methodology did early collectors use? Who were involved in their projects? How did they document and make archives accessible? By answering these questions, contemporary archivists, musicians, community members and their leaders, among others, will be working towards mitigating a scenario that reproduces colonial archival tendencies.

This study also concludes that the use of a postcolonial approach to guide the process of collecting and analysing data demanded an in-depth analysis through incorporation of various ideas as presented by even people who could not have a platform to speak for themselves. To achieve this, there is need to design counter methodologies for collecting views of 'silent' voices, the people normally not mandated to speak on behalf of society. I have established that the need to include voices of the uninitiated, circumcised men but with no homes of their own as well as women is influenced by critical ethnography. This methodological approach is where social scientists have demanded the move from mere interpretivism to investigate how issues of power privilege some people while pushing others to the periphery. It enables the underprivileged to speak out and share their experiences as I have shown in Chapter Six. The disadvantaged can share significant ideas that can greatly improve the performance of contemporary archives if their views are also taken into consideration.

The study also concludes that the question of land ownership affects the way cultural objects, including the rituals, music and dance, performed there, are archived. Because

cultural sites (CS), places where the Bagisu stage rituals including *imbalu* are located in private land, conservation efforts may be hampered since people use the same land for cultivation and settlement. This study has revealed that cultural and community leaders need to work with government authorities to compensate the owners of land where CS 'sit'. After compensating private people and taking over the management of these sites, the GoU needs to come up with an inventory of the activities that are performed in these places. Afterwards, the government could regulate the performance of the rituals and other activities staged in these areas with a view of safeguarding them for future generations.

Last but not least, I have proposed a framework for a more-inclusive postcolonial archive as a model for safeguarding musical and dance materials among contemporary Bagisu. This archival practice is informed by the shortcomings of the prevalent approaches to preservation of music and dance among the Bagisu. As I have already discussed, the indigenous and colonial archival approaches are mostly bend on serving the needs of the people in the 'constituencies' of their jurisdiction, with other people left out. However, there is need for the various stakeholders to come together under the framework of the more-inclusive postcolonial archive, which is motivated by the need to serve musicians, dancers, community members, cultural leaders, fieldworkers (music collectors), archivists, among others, for 'sustainable' preservation of music and dance among the Bagisu. By complementing on the roles of one another, this study has established that the above stakeholders will use the more-inclusive archive as a site for understanding the nature of materials to be collected. This type of archive also has the potential of ensuring that archived material is accessed by end-users as well as mitigating copyright and ethics, which are some of the crucial issues twenty-first century archives grapple with.

Lastly, this study was not accomplished without confronting a number of challenges. Not only did the researcher negotiate multiple identities (as an insider and outsider), there were also other constraints. These constraints range from those associated with dealing with recording technology, hazards such as theft to incidents where fieldwork appears to be a security threat to the people whose culture is taken for study. In conducting a study like this one, scholars should be ready to put in place measures to mitigate these limitations including training their assistants on how to handle and use equipment, making back-up copies of their materials and explain why they move round the community with bulky equipment to avoid causing suspicion to the population.

7.3 Areas for Further Research

Because of time, this study could not cover all the themes related to archiving music and dance among the Bagisu. As such, numerous gaps are left behind and these can form a basis for future research. Firstly, this study has left a huge gap on the role of radio and TV stations as well as cultural troupes as centres for the collection, documentation, preservation and dissemination of Kigisu music and dance. There is need for a study into how media houses including radios and TV stations mediate the archiving of music and dance among the Bagisu. Similarly, cultural troupes bring together musics and dances from different tribes which they perform before various audiences. The processes of acquiring, recreating and transmitting Kigisu music and dance through such performing troupes may be an interesting topic for future research.

While cultural institutions are established with the aim of promoting and preserving the cultural heritage of their communities, this theme is not investigated through this study. I have only made reference to cultural leaders as a way of bringing to the fore views of people charged with the role of mitigating cultural issues among the Bagisu. However, the question of as to how cultural institutions, including the newly 'established' *Bukhungu bwe Baduda Bukusu* (a cultural institution that was established in Bududa District in June, 2013) and *inzu ye Masaba* cultural institution (the latter bringing together all the Bagisu from the districts of Bududa, Manafwa, Mbale, Sironko and Bulambuli) create, preserve and manage musical materials in this community can be a significant topic for future research. Additionally, there is need for future research into the ways in which such institutions can establish centres for archiving music and dance among the Bagisu and how they can empower community members in these preservation efforts.

When I investigated how social events become sites for performing the archive among the Bagisu in Bududa District, it was revealed that gender becomes a significant question to be considered before choosing who should be in charge of the rituals and therefore the integrated music and dance. Men are at the forefront as they take custodianship of the various social events staged in this community. The gender question may also be very important for future studies, to seek an understanding of how emphasis on gender impacts on efforts to archive music and dance among the Bagisu. What happens if women cross over to the area designated as a space for men during the performance of such social events? How can

musical materials associated with such spaces be handled when women take over? These may be some of the questions for such investigations.

One of the motivations for conducting this study was to understand how the Bagisu in an urban context and those living in a rural setting archive music and dance. Since the Bagisu have migrated to areas outside Bugisu sub-region, there is need to investigate the archival practices for music and dance in the places the Bagisu have been relocated. To take as an example, as a result of landslides, many Bagisu from Bududa District have been resettled in Kiryandongo resettlement camp in north-western Uganda. Being in a place away from 'home', it would be crucial to examine the nature of musical materials they create in such places and how the preservation practices adopted in these new spaces are influenced by the approaches they adopted while still in Bududa (Bugisu).

There is also a gap between music kiosks and music studios which I have not examined. While the two overlap in terms of the roles they play, I did not examine the role of music studios in processing, repackaging and circulating Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town. Is it the same role as that played by music kiosks? How do music kiosks and studios interact to archive Kigisu music and dance in urban centres like Mbale Town?

Besides the above questions, I hinted on the fact that the musics, dances, photographs and all the interviews that accrued from this study have not been deposited with MAKWAA or any other archive. While my intention is to engage with the management of MAKWAA to establish how we can work together to archive these materials, conducting such a study may be significant as it may seek practical ways of working with institutions to archive and disseminate the collected material. Finally, by proposing a framework for the more-inclusive postcolonial archive among contemporary Bagisu, this study has created a huge gap for similar studies in other communities in Uganda. There is need for studies in other Ugandan communities, especially those neighbouring the Bagisu, to establish how the socio-cultural, religious, economic, technological and other conditions inform the nature of approaches for archiving music and dance.

In highlighting 'other archival agents for Kigisu music and dance in Mbale Town', it was revealed that churches play a crucial role in archiving Kigisu music and dance in this town. They collect, document, keep and later transmit these items through open-air preaching. However, there is a huge gap on the nature of Kigisu music and dances performed by different churches in Mbale Town and the process of selecting, safeguarding and

circulating such items to potential users. Some of the questions that may be investigated include: How do churches select Kigisu music and dances to be performed during services? How do they arrange and catalogue these materials? Who accesses these items and why?

There is also the issue of power and how particular conditions influence accessibility and use of certain cultural products. This study has revealed that in Mbale Town, technology has provided a platform for owners of music kiosks to subvert the power of elders. Although I have highlighted how people engaged in music kiosk businesses upload *imbalu* music and dance on video-hosting sites like YouTube, there is a huge gap in this area. There is need for more research to establish what really happens when this music and dance are uploaded on internet. Among the questions to ask in this respect include: How do Bagisu elders really feel when these materials are accessed and consumed by non-Bagisu? What is the impact of this act on *imbalu* circumcision rituals and how can the Bagisu overcome this?

Lastly, in this dissertation, I have pointed to the fact that substantial amounts of Kigisu musical and dance materials are among the items housed in archives including MAKWAA. These items, besides the ones I collected during this study, can be used by Bagisu popular artists for their compositions. This can become an interesting topic of investigation, to examine how artists can reinterpret such material.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Sample Questions for Interviews

A). Elders

1. Tell me about yourself, how old are you?

2. Which work do you do?

3. Which role do you play in your community?

4. How were you appointed/chosen for this role?

5. How did you get the training for the role mentioned in (4) above?

6. When do you perform the tasks you were given in by members of your community?

7. What is the main message you pass on to other community members as you perform your duties?

8. Do you train other people to take over from you in future?

8. Which type of people do you train to take up the role you perform?

9. How do you choose them?

10. Which message do you pass on to the people you train to succeed you?

11. How does the community pay you for the roles you perform?

B). Those who narrate folktales

1. What is your name and when were you born?

2. How did you learn the art of narrating stories?

3. Are there cases when you create your own tales?

4. What are the topics on which you create these tales?

5. What motivates to create your own stories?

6. What messages do you normally plan to put forward through the folktales you

narrate?

7. Who is normally your audience and why?

8. Where do you normally tell people the tales you have?

9. Has anybody ever tried to record your folktales?

11. Why did the person named in (10) record you?

12. How did those who recorded you tell you about the recording?

14. Which stories did you narrate to be recorded?

15. Who chose the stories that you narrated and why?

16. Did you tell the person you named in (10) what the stories were about?

C). Musicians Performers in bands

1. Can you kindly tell the name of this band?

2. When did it begin?

3. Who were the initial members who started this band?

4. Why was it started?

5. How do you compose the music that you perform in this band?

6. Where do you get the stories upon which you compose the songs?

7. What motivates you to sing about these topics?

8. How do you preserve the songs you perform?

9. Have you ever had people (from elsewhere) coming here to record your music?

10. How did they choose what to record?

11. Why did they want to make the recordings?

12. What was your role in the whole process?

13. How do you think this can be made better another time?

D). *Inzu ye Masaaba* (IYM)

Here, I will choose three (3) people - who may either be current members of the board or those who have served there before. I intend to interview these people during Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) or individual interviews. Sample questions for informants in this category include:

1. When was *Inzu ye Masaaba* established?

2. How is it composed?

3. What is the mandate of IYM?

4. How does it sensitise the Bagisu on their culture, specifically music and dance?

5. How does IYM ensure that the culture of the Bagisu , especially music and dance is preserved?

6. Do you have a sub-committee specifically charged with the responsibility of mobilising the Bagisu to preserve their music and dance?

7. What are the activities of the committee named in (6) above?

8. Do you have any Kigisu cultural materials in your custody that you have attempted to preserve on behalf of the community?

9. Just share with me, how do you choose the items you taken into custody? Where do you keep them?

10. Has anybody come to your office to request for permission to record any aspects of the cultural heritage of the Bagisu?

11. What happened? What were the terms of your partnership?

12. What was the input of *inzu ye Masaaba* to the project of the person/institution named in (10) above?

E). Community leaders (educators)

1. What is your name?
2. Where do you come from?
3. Which work do you do in this community?
4. Can you tell me about the cultural activities you mobilize people for during the course of your work?
5. Why do mobilize people on cultural issues?
6. How do you ensure that you help your community to preserve their cultural heritage especially music and dance?
7. Do you have a place dedicated as a centre for the preservation of the cultural objects of your community?
8. Do you receive people from other places coming to your parish/sub-county or district to record songs, dances and other cultural materials of your community?
9. Where do they normally when come from?
10. How do you work with such people as they do their work?
11. How did they conduct their work?
12. Did you participate in the work of the people mentioned in (8) above?
13. What do you think were the good things that you could admire in the way they were doing their work?
14. What were the negative things you noticed?
15. How do you think the negative things could have been sorted out?

F) Individual Musicians

1. What is your name?
2. Where do you come from?

3. When were you born?
4. When did you begin your music career? What influenced you?
5. How do you get material for your compositions?
6. How do you make sure that you remember the songs you have composed?
7. Where do you normally perform your music?
8. Why do you perform your music in such places?
9. Have you ever been recorded by anybody?
10. How did it happen? Can you tell me how it begun and what happened?
11. Do you have copies of the recordings?
12. What do you do with these recordings?

G) Private Collectors

1. What is your name? When were you born?
2. When did you begin making these collections?
3. What was your motivation?
4. Where do you get these materials?
5. Can you tell me the process you go through to choose these materials?
6. Which materials do you choose and which ones do you leave out?
7. Why do you choose certain materials and leave out others?
8. Which people do you show the materials you have collected?
9. How do they access them?
10. What are the conditions of accessing these materials?
11. How do you keep them to ensure that they do not get spoiled?

12. If you have a chance of getting help from experts from elsewhere, how can they help you?

13. Do you have other people you work with as you do your work?

14. Who are these people and how do they help you?

Appendix II: List of People Interviewed

Date	Names of Person interviewed	Position	Place of the interview
Wednesday 25 September, 2013	Loyce Namarome	Ordinary Member of the community	Late Difasi Wereka's home, Bududa District
Friday 27 September, 2013	Abiasa Zeruya Watsemba	Used to be part of people singing songs during marriage ceremonies	Her Home in Bududa District
Monday 30 September, 2013	Yekosofati Shisoni (whose stage name was Wabutambi wo Bunakhu)	Musician playing the guitar	Late Difasi Wereka's home, Bududa District
Monday 30 September, 2013	Samwiri Murami (whose stage name was Makutyula)	Musician playing shakers (*tsisaasi*)	Late Difasi Wereka's home, Bududa District
Thursday 3 October, 2013	Eric Nakasala	Librarian Elgon Nursery/Primary School	Pub World, Naboa Road, Mbale Town

Sunday 6 October, 2013	David Tsolobi	District Community Development Officer, Bududa	Elgon Nursery/Primary School, Mbale Town
Sunday 6 October, 2013	Samuel Watulatsu	Former Chairperson, Bugisu Cultural Board	Elgon Nursery/Primary School, Mbale Town
Sunday 6 October, 2013	Charles Siango Wakwabubi	Minister of Culture and Sports in the inzu ye Masaba Cultural Institution	Siango's home near Bumutoto Cultural Grounds
Monday 7 October, 2013	Daniel Okello	Spanner Boy, Mbale Main Garage	Elgon Nursery/Primary School, Mbale Town
Thursday 10 October, 2013	Alfred Kisangala	Mechanic, Mbale Main Garage	Elgon Nursery/Primary School, Mbale Town
Thursday 18 October, 2013	Sam Fred Namara	Parish Chief	Sam Fred Namara's home in Khama Trading Centre, Bududa District
Thursday 18	Gabriel Watetela	Community Member	Sam Fred Namara's

October, 2013			home in Khama Trading Centre, Bududa District
Thursday 18 October, 2013	Lawrence Wapayule	Cultural Officer, Bunabutiti and Bunamanda Parishes in Bushika Sub-County (Bududa District)	Sam Fred Namara's home in Khama Trading Centre, Bududa District
Thursday 18 October, 2013	Damascus Kusolo Wamundu	Musician (was playing a wooden trough locally known as *lulwelo*)	Sam Fred Namara's home in Khama Trading Centre, Bududa District
Tuesday 22 October, 2013	Michael Kisibo	Community Member	Michael Kisibo's home in Khama Trading Centre, Bududa District
Tuesday 29 October, 2013	Silagi Wandeba	Community Member	Silagi Wandeba's home in Bumukonya, Bududa District
Tuesday 29 October, 2013	Grace Namutosi	Community Member	Late Toti Weleba's home in Bumukonya, Bududa District

Tuesday 29 October, 2013	Alice Sambula	Community Member	Late Toti Weleba's home in Bumukonya, Bududa District
Tuesday 29 October, 2013	Jenipher Nangalama	Community Member	Late Toti Weleba's home, Bumukonya, Bududa District
Tuesday 29 October, 2013	Clement Wabuna	Custodian of funeral drums	Late Toti Weleba's home in Bumukonya, Bududa District
Tuesday 29 October, 2013	Isa Namara	Community Leader	Late Toti Weleba's home in Bumukonya, Bududa District
Tuesday 29 October, 2013	Damascus Kusolo Wamundu	Musician (was playing a wooden trough locally known as *lulwelo*)	Late Toti Weleba's home in Bumukonya, Bududa District
Tuesday 29 October, 2013	Wilson Mupuya	Fresh Graduate from University	Late Toti Weleba's home in Bumukonya, Bududa District
Sunday 1 December, 2013	Aisa Nabukwere	Business woman	Bujoloto Village, Nkoma Suburb, Mbale Town

Sunday 1 December, 2013	Aidah Nabukwasi	House wife	Bujoloto Village, Nkoma Suburb, Mbale Town
Sunday 1 December, 2013	Barbara Nabukonde	Housewife	Namatala Suburb, Mbale Town
Saturday 14 December, 2013	David Tsoloobi	District Community Development Officer (DCDO), Bududa	Mbale Resort Hotel, Mbale Town
Saturday 14 December, 2013	Aidah Wetunga	Chairperson, Mbale NGO Forum	Mbale Resort Hotel, Mbale Town
Saturday 14 December, 2013	Stephen Wabusani	Commercial Officer (CO), Bududa District	Mbale Resort Hotel, Bududa District
Monday 16 December, 2013	David Tsoloobi	District Community Development Officer (DCDO), Bududa	Bududa District Headquarters
Monday 16 December, 2013	Agnes Mukimba	Chairperson, Sibira HIV/AIDS Group	Bududa District Headquarters
Monday 16 December, 2013	Magidu Kamila	Member, TASO Mbale Drama Group	Bududa District Headquarters

Monday 16 December, 2013	Jessica Nabushuwu	Chairperson, Bukigai Health Centre Drama Client's Group	Bududa District Headquarters
Friday 3 January, 2014	Milton Maina	Community Member	Peter Mukhwana's home, Makunda Village (Bududa District)
Friday 3 January, 2014	Doreen Nelima	Community Member	Peter Mukhwana's home, Makunda Village (Bududa District)
Friday 3 January, 2014	Florence Tsemoyi Mukhwana	Housewife	Peter Mukhwana's home, Makunda Village (Bududa District)
Saturday 4 January, 2014	Biira Namome Natubu	Housewife	Late Difasi Wereka's home, Bituwa Village (Bududa District)
Saturday 4 January,	Lawrence Wekoye	Chairperson,	Late Difasi Wereka's

2014		Nakhatoole Drummer's Band	home, Bituwa Village (Bududa District)
Saturday 18 January, 2014	Geofrey Muyomba	Owner of Music Kiosk along Market Street, Mbale Town	Mbale Town
Friday 31 January, 2013	Enos Khafu Nakasala	Head, Media Crew, Pearl Haven Christian Centre, Mbale	ES Rock Computer Centre, Mbale Town
Friday 31 January, 2014	Geoffrey Masaba	District Councillor, Bududa	Mbale Town
Saturday 1 February, 2014	DJ Jose	Owner of Music Kiosk along Naboa Road	Mbale Town
Monday 3 February, 2014	Benedicto Weswala	Cultural Officer (COi)	Mbale Town
Wednesday 4 February, 2015	John Wamimbi	Custodian, Bumutoto Cultural Grounds	Bumutoto Cultural Grounds, Mbale
Monday 9 February, 2015	John Mafuko Wazikonya	Teacher, Nkoma Secondary School, Mbale	Pub World, Mbale Town

Wednesday 25 February, 2015	Michael Wanambwa	Teacher, Bufuma Primary School	Namasho Cultural Sites, Bududa District

Appendix III: Activities and Functions Attended during Fieldwork

Date	Activity/Function	Venue	Role Performed
Monday 30 September, 2013	Music Performance by Yekosofati Shisoni (whose stage name is Wabutambi wo Bunakhu) and Samwiri Murami (whose stage name is Makutyula)	Late Difasi Wereka's home in Bituwa Village, Bududa District	Researcher
Thursday 18 October, 2013	Luwenjele Performance	Sam Fred Namara's home in Khama Trading Centre, Bududa District	Researcher and respond to the songs accompanying the wooden trough (*lulwelo*)
Tuesday 29 October, 2013	Funeral Dance ritual	Bumukonya Village in Nakatsi Sub-County (Bududa District)	Dancer and Researcher
Sunday 1 December, 2013	Story-telling session	Aisa Nabukwere's home in Bujoloto Village, Nkoma Suburb, Mbale Town	Researcher and also narrator of folktales
Saturday 14 December, 2013	Planning Meeting for Cultural Exhibitions in Bugisu	Mbale Resort Hotel, Mbale Town	Member, Planning Committee
Monday 16 December, 2013	AIDS Day Celebrations	Bududa District Headquarters	Researcher
Friday 3 January, 2014	Story-telling session	Peter Mukhwana's home, Makunda	Narrator of folktales and Researcher

		village, Bududa District	
Saturday 4 January, 2014	Performing *Kadodi* Music and Dance	Late Difasi Wereka's home in Bituwa Village (Bududa District)	Researcher

Appendix IV: Research Consent and Release Form

I

_____

(Print full names in capital letters) do hereby agree to participate in a research project on audio-visual archiving as a means of preservation of oral knowledge conducted by Mr. Dominic Makwa as part of his PhD (Music) programme at Stellenbosch University (South Africa). This research investigates how people involved in archiving can partner with local communities to collect, document and preserve oral knowledge of a community, with particular reference to rural and urban-based Bagisu of eastern Uganda. I allow Mr. Makwa to interview me (and members of my group), take still photos, make audio and video recordings and use these materials for his academic pursuit.

As a scholar, Mr. Makwa has committed himself to research ethical issues. As such, he will allow you to participate in this project on a voluntary basis. You will participate and quit at a time of your convenience. In cases where you do not feel secure with certain information, you will neither be forced to give it nor will your name be published in the subsequent reports. Such information will be treated as confidential.

Signature and date:

_____

Village:

_____

Parish:

_____

Sub County:

_____

District:

_____

Telephone Contact:

_____

If the person giving information is disabled (for example a musician who is blind):

I am the guardian of the above informant and I consent to the release of the information he/she has given above.

Name (**Print in Capital Letters**):_____

Signature and date:

_____

Village:

_____

Parish:

_____

Sub County:

_____

District:

_____

Telephone Contact:

_____

Appendix V: Research Clearance Letter, Stellenbosch University

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Approved with Stipulations
New Application

15-Sep-2014
Makwa, Dominic D

Proposal #: DESC/Makwa/Aug2014/39
Title: Archival discourses and preservation of oral knowledge: Local communities and audio-visual archiving in contemporary Uganda.

Dear Mr Dominic Makwa,

Your **New Application** received on **25-Aug-2014**, was reviewed
Please note the following information about your approved research proposal:

Proposal Approval Period: **08-Sep-2014 -07-Sep-2015**

The following stipulations are relevant to the approval of your project and must be adhered to:
The REC: Humanities regrets the late submission of this application for review by the DESC. The REC: Humanities recommend that the researcher integrates the following stipulations in his research:

1. Permission to conduct research
Permission from village elders is critically important to conduct interviews and to attend ceremonies and rituals for the sake of the research study. The researcher should therefore ensure that consent is obtained from village elders to participate in activities of the community before the research may begin.

2. Informed consent forms
2.1) Currently the informed consent forms are written in English which could be problematic if English is not the first language of the participants. The REC suggests that the consent form should be explained verbally, in the local language or vernacular of the Bagisu. Furthermore, the informed consent form should correspond to the SU template for participant informed consent. This template can be accessed via www.sun.ac.za/research.
2.2) The informed consent form should explicitly ask for permission to record conversations and to take pictures.

3. Research proposal
The research proposal should include a section in which ethical risks are considered.

Please provide a letter of response to all the points raised IN ADDITION to HIGHLIGHTING or using the TRACK CHANGES function to indicate ALL the corrections/amendments of ALL DOCUMENTS clearly in order to allow rapid scrutiny and appraisal.

Please take note of the general Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

Please remember to use your **proposal number** (**DESC/Makwa/Aug2014/39**) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research proposal.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Also note that a progress report should be submitted to the Committee before the approval period has expired if a continuation is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary).

This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki and the Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes 2004 (Department of Health). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external

Appendix VI: Letter of Introduction to Authorities in Mbale Town

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21 August 2013

To whom it may concern

RE: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FOR DOMINIC MAKWA

This letter serves to confirm that Mr Dominic Makwa is the recipient of a full-time doctoral scholarship at the Graduate School of the Arts and Social Sciences Faculty at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. The scholarship was awarded to Mr Makwa for three consecutive years, 2013 – 2015.

Mr Makwa is registered for a doctoral degree within the Music Department and is currently working on his dissertation titled: *Archival discourses and preservation of oral knowledge: Local communities and audio-visual archiving in contemporary Uganda*.

During the course of his studies, Mr Makwa will travel to eastern Uganda in order to conduct fieldwork and collect data in Mbale Town, which is integral for the completion of his studies. We would appreciate it if you would assist Mr Makwa with his study where necessary.

If you would like to know more about the project, please ask Mr Makwa to provide you with more information. For any other queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Graduate School Office directly on +27 21 8082079 or graduateschool@sun.ac.za.

Kind regards

Dr Cindy Lee Steenekamp
Manager: Graduate School
Arts and Social Sciences Faculty
Stellenbosch University

Fakulteit Lettere en Sosiale Wetenskappe - Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Kantoor van die Nagraadse Skool - Graduate School Office
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika/South Africa
Tel: +27 21 808 2079/2892; Faks/Fax: +27 21 808 2123; E-pos/E-mail: graduateschool@sun.ac.za

Appendix VII: Letter of Introduction to Authorities in Mbale Town and Bududa District

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
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Office of the Executive Secretary
Uganda National Council for Science and Technology
P.O.Box 6884
Kampala, Uganda

21 August 2013

To whom it may concern

RE: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FOR DOMINIC MAKWA

This letter serves to confirm that Mr Dominic Makwa (passport number: B0613367) is the recipient of a full-time doctoral scholarship at the Graduate School of the Arts and Social Sciences Faculty at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. The scholarship was awarded to Mr Makwa for three consecutive years, 2013 – 2015.

Mr Makwa is registered for a doctoral degree within the Music Department and is currently working on his dissertation titled: *Archival discourses and preservation of oral knowledge: Local communities and audio-visual archiving in contemporary Uganda*. Mr Makwa is working under the supervision of Dr Ralf Kohler (Stellenbosch University) and Associate Professor Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza (Makerere University).

During the course of his studies, Mr Makwa will need to travel to eastern Uganda in order to conduct fieldwork and collect data in the Bududa District and Mbale Town, which is integral for the completion of his studies. We would appreciate it if you would assist Mr Makwa by providing him with the necessary clearance and access to conduct his fieldwork.

If you would like to know more about the project, please ask Mr Makwa to provide you with more information. For any other queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Graduate School Office directly on +27 21 8082079 or graduateschool@sun.ac.za.

Kind regards

Dr Cindy Lee Steenekamp
Manager: Graduate School
Arts and Social Sciences Faculty
Stellenbosch University

Fakulteit Lettere en Sosiale Wetenskappe - Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Kantoor van die Nagraadse Skool - Graduate School Office
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika/South Africa
Tel: +27 21 808 2079/2892; Faks/Fax: +27 21 808 2123; E-pos/E-mail: graduateschool@sun.ac.za

Appendix VIII: Letter of Introduction to the Director Human Resource Makerere University

UNIVERSITEIT•STELLENBOSCH•UNIVERSITY
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Office of the Director
Human Resources
Makerere University
P.O. Box 7062, Kampala

21 August 2013

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: LETTER OF SUPPORT FOR DOMINIC MAKWA

Dominic Makwa (18124348) is a recipient of a full-time doctoral scholarship at the Graduate School of the Arts and Social Sciences Faculty at Stellenbosch University. As part of the PANGeA initiative, the scholarship was awarded to him for three consecutive years, commencing in 2013, and payment of each installment is dependent upon satisfactory progress. The scholarship covers living expenses, tuition fees and administrative costs (associated with international students). The scholarship does *not* cover research-related costs; including fieldwork and data collection, books and reading material etc. or travel expenses.

Mr Makwa is registered for a doctoral degree within the Music Department and is currently working on his dissertation titled: *Archival discourses and preservation of oral knowledge: Local communities and audio-visual archiving in contemporary Uganda*. Mr Makwa is working under the supervision of Dr Ralf Kohler (Stellenbosch University) and Associate Professor Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza (Makerere University).

During the course of his studies, Mr Makwa will need to travel to eastern Uganda in order to conduct fieldwork in the Bududa District and Mbale Town as well as collect data from the Makerere University Klaus Wachsmann Music Archive (MAKWMA). Any support given to him to facilitate the completion of his study will be appreciated.

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Graduate School Office on +27218082079 or via email, graduateschool@sun.ac.za

Kind regards,

Dr Cindy Lee Steenekamp
Manager: Graduate School
Arts and Social Sciences Faculty
Stellenbosch University, South Africa

Fakulteit Lettere en Sosiale Wetenskappe - Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Kantoor van die Nagraadse Skool - Graduate School Office
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika/South Africa
Tel: +27 21 808 2079/2892; Faks/Fax: +27 21 808 2123; E-pos/E-mail: graduateschool@sun.ac.za